

NAPHTALI

O R

The Wrestlings of the CHURCH OF SCOTLAND FOR THE KINGDOM of CHRIST;

Contained in

A true and short Deduction thereof, from
the beginning of the Reformation of the Reli-
gion, until the Year 1667.

Together with

The last Speeches and Testimonies of some, who
have died for the Truth since the Year 1660.

Whereunto are also subjoynd

A Relation of the Sufferings and Death of
MR HEW Mc KAIL, and some Instances of
the Sufferings of Galloway and Nithisdale.

LAM. 1: 12. *Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by? Behold and see, if there
be any sorrow like unto my sorrow, which is done unto me, wherewith the
Lord hath afflicted me, in the day of his fierce anger.*

MIC. 7: 8. *Rejoice not against me, O mine Enemy: When I fall, I shall arise;
when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a Light unto me.*

*What shall one then answer the Messengers of the Nation? That
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tion, and the poor of his People shall trust in it.



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A D L E C T O R E M.

Non hic Herculeæ sunt cum sudore palestræ ;
 Nullus Olympiaco in pulvere Ludus iners :
 Pro sudore cruor Christi de Corpore manat ;
 Ardua pro ludo est lucta , rapina , neces .
 Scotica bis denis luctata Ecclesia Lustris ;
 Penè dedit victas , lassâ labore , manus .
 Duros passa Patres dudum , velut ante Noërcas ,
 Vi præmitur ; Stygia fraude subacta gemit .
 Constitit effrænes contra tumidasque procellas ;
 Proque Fide steterat , dum stetit ulla fides .
 Nusquam cana fides nunc est , iurataque Cæli
 Numina , mortales , vinc' la nec ulla ligant .
 Credula dum nimis est , fida hæc Ecclesia ; vanâ
 Spe lusa , & rupto Fœdere strata jacet :
 Strata tamen non tota jacet , de pulvere surgit ,
 Auricomum tollet mox supra astra caput .
 Ipsa triumphalem curram Crux scæra ministrat ;
 Sanctorum sanguis fertile semen erit .
 Ecce ! Sacerdotum turmam Regumque Coronam
 Pendentem infami de trabe , Lector , habes .
 Cerne oculo , Heroum facies & corpora cernas ,
 Verba audi , & videas pectora plena Deo ,
 Hic loquitur Princeps , magno cum Iudice , Vates ;
 Et Juvenes , Vatum spes animosa senum .
 Hic Generosa cohors , Miles , Mercator , agel"
 Cultor , & Arte rudis , spirat ab ore Deum
 Disce immortalem hinc Animam , vitamque futuram ,
 Nulla est , pro Chryso , mors male grata pio .
 Pro Christi Crux , est , diademate Laureâ ; restis ,
 Fœdere pro Sancto , est vita , monile , decus .



R E A D E R.



HE LORD in great mercy, having wonderfully and with an outstretched arm, notwithstanding all the opposition of Sathan & earthly Principalities, redeemed *Scotland* from the Power and darkness, first of *Gentilism*, and then of *Antichristianism*, by raising of some burning and shining Lights, and other Instruments fitted for that Work; Whereby the Light of the Glorious Gospel, from a very small beginning, did increase more & more, until at length, shining with brightness & heat, as the Sun in his strength, it filled the Land with knowledge, in so much that the name thereof became *Jehovah Shammah*, *the Lord is there*: And having built to Himself a house upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, not only sufficiently instructed with righteous Laws & Judgments for Doctrine & Worship; But also provided with all Ordinary Officers necessary in the Christian Church, and with a form of Church-Government, of his own Institution, distinct from, and without any prejudice unto the Civil Government of the Kingdom, Whereby the Church of *Scotland*, for Soundness of Faith, Purity of

Worship, Excellency of Government, Freedom and Power of the Gospel, beautiful Order & Unity, was not inferior to any, if not preferable to most of the Reformed Churches, and therefore was deservedly famous & esteemed amongst them: Having also, for an hundred Years, from it's first National Establishment, preserved the same from utter overthrow, notwithstanding the many various and renewed endeavours of men, by force and fraud, to reduce it unto the same Errors, Ignorance and Superstitions, wherein it self at first lay buried, and under which others groaned; And several times revived and restored it, when by it's own Impurity, Indifferency and Formality it began to decline, or by the Treachery, Subtilty, or Violence of others it was oppressed; thereby not only disappointing, confounding, and many times ruining the Adversaries, and comforting and strengthening the faithful; But also alwayes rebuilding to **Himself** a Temple, the glory whereof did far excel and darken the glory of the former: And having many times engaged the whole Land to Himself, by several most solemn Obligations, of voluntary Surrender and Resignation, by frequently renewed Oaths and Covenants; So that within these few Years past, there were not many persons of age, of what ever degree, and not so much as one Preaching Minister in all the Land, who not only did not make publick profession of the true Reformed Religion, but also subject themselves unto the Presbyterian Form of Church Government and Discipline, and who did not (which we desire to be noted) for that effect in their own persons swear and subscribe with the hand unto the Lord, in the National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant; In so much, that as to the publick Profession of the Truth, and almost as to the number of persons, the Church of *Scotland* was of equal extent with the Nation, and in that respect, of all other National Churches, did most resemble the old Church of the *Jewes*: The Lord, I say,

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say, having to the conviction and acknowledgement of our selves and others, done such great things for us; whereof we are glad, the present Apostacy, whereby Scotland's *Bethel* is come *Beibaven*, and the Land that was sometimes *Holiness unto the Lord* is become (*alas! too Edom like*) *the border of wickedness*, and an *Aceldama*, a Tragical Theatre of blood and persecution, ought to be unto us no less matter of Sorrow, Shame and Fear, than it is Sin in it self, and Wonder and Amazement unto others. Who can hear our Covenanted and Kindest Lord, who hateth putting away, and desieth us to *shew the bill of our Mothers divorcement*, who groaneth under our Backslidings, being pressed therewith as a cart full of sheaves, complaining that *He is broken with our inobedient hearts*, and therefore declaring that *He will be no more our Husband, nor we His Wife*, and that *His heart cannot be toward us*; But that *He will drive us out of His house, and love us no more*, and not cover the lip for Shame? And in consequence thereof, who can behold the Fathers house, not only defiled, by turning it into an house of Marchandise & den of thieves, but the Temple cast down to the ground, and the Adversary in the midst thereof insultingly and scornfully set up their ensignes for signes of Triumph; & further, behold the blood of Saints shed like water, and their flesh given to be meat to the fowles of the heaven and beasts of the Earth, & not lament with *Jeremiah? Cap. 9. v. 1, 2, 3.* *Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the Daughter of my People. Oh that I had in the Wilderness a lodging place of wayfaring men, that I might leave my People and go from them: For they be all adulterers, an assembly of treacherous men. And they bend their tongue like their bow for lies: But they are not valiant for the Truth upon the Earth, for they proceed from evil to evil, and they know not me, saith the Lord.* And this will the more appear, not only if we remember the general nature of Backsliding, which is a

very comprehensive Sin, importing less Love, Fear and Trust in the true God, and proclaiming more Inconstancy, Unfaithfulness, and ingratitude towards him; than sometimes is found in very heathens towards their Idols; But also if we consider that our present Defection hath all circumstantial Aggravations in the highest degree. For it is not in things only Civil, Indifferent, or of little moment; But in things Religious, Necessary, Important, & which at least in their tendency & consequence reach to the very foundation: It is not the effect of common, humane and invincible infirmity; but most free & voluntary, yea wilful & deliberate: It is not done by stealth, or in a corner; but avowedly & openly in the sight of the Sun: It is not Private and Personal; but Representative & Authorized, by Acts & Proclamations of King, Parliament and Council: It is not smoothly & subtly, but most tyrannically carried on by military violence and cruelty: It is not of a few or inconsiderable Persons, but very Universal: The greatest part of all Ranks, and of some Ranks almost the whole, being some one way or other involved therein: It is not only of these, who were alwayes of known and professed disaffection to the Cause and Covenant of God; but also of many, who sometimes being exceeding zealous themselves, and exemplary and forcible upstirrers of others therein, are now become the chief Ringleaders thereof, and most bloody Persecuters of those who remain stedfast in the Truth: It is not in an Heathenish or Antichristian Land, or Church divided and broken with several Sects, as some others are; but even in Scotland, so clearly enlightened, for which the Lord had wrought so many wonderful works, which was under so many obligations of Oaths and Covenants to the contrary, and had been so united in the profession of the Truth: It is not from violent force, Inevitable necessity or irresistible temptation (which is neither possible, nor yet would excuse it) but when the Lord, by breaking the yoke of
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forrain Usurpation, had given King and Countrey the fairest opportunity which they ever had, to restore, confirm and advance His work; as if He had delivered us, that we might work all these Abominations: And all this for no other end, than the base flattering of the Kings humor and inclination, satiating of Prelatical Pride and Ambition, the indulging of the licentious profanity of some Debauched and degenerated Nobles and others, who could not endure the yoke of Christ's sound doctrine and impartial discipline, And the suppression of Religion and Righteousness in the subversion of the late work of Reformation: Whereby we have charged our selves with all the blood that hath been shed upon either side, during the former wars; Have laid a stumbling block before all, who shall see or hear of it, to blaspheme Religion as a false pretence for Rebellion and Self-Interest, and to affirm that there is neither truth nor ingenuity in the Professors thereof. *Pass over the Isles of Chittim, and see if there be such a thing; hath a Nation changed their Gods, which yet are no Gods? But Scotland, Ah Scotland! hath changed her glory for that which doth not profit. Be astonished, O ye heavens at this, and be horribly afraid: And so much the rather, because few Lands did ever make Defection after this manner, but, as upon the one hand, the Lord gave them up unto more Backsliding, until they abounded more with Atheism and all manner of abominations, than some Pagan-Nations, who never heard nor made Profession of the Gospel; So upon the other hand, He alwayes pursued them with sorest plagues, not only of subjugation at home, scattering and exile abroad, dividing of Kingdomes amongst themselves, and from their former Rulers, and final subversion of whole Empires, Kingdomes and Common wealths; But also many times with the final removal of the Gospel, and utter dissolution of all visible National Covenant-relation, as might be demonstrated from Holy Scripture, and other Histories:*

ries : And indeed, if He, to whom nothing is strange or impossible (though they may seem both to us) and whose wayes and thoughts are as far above ours, as the Heavens are above the Earth, do not in the Sovereignty of His Grace, recede from His ordinary method of dealing with such apostatizing People, and now when he hath seen our way do not heal us, we have, alas ! too too just ground of fear, that we shall become such a proverb amongst the Nations, that the generation to come of our Children, & the stranger that cometh from a far Land, when they see the plagues of this Land, shall wonder and ask, *Wherefore hath the Lord done this unto this Land ? What meaneth the heat of this great anger ?* Oh ! that the very first, and next following steps of Defection, together with the Causes of the Lord's wrath against the Land, were remembred and acknowledged, and that all who have had any accession to the kindling of this flame (and who can wholly Justify himself ? If any would, be sure, his own mouth should condemn him) would draw water and pour it out before the Lord, for quenching thereof, and that the first resilers from our National Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to duties, would glorify God by Confession, that he might turn from the fierceness of his Anger ; But alas ! He hath at once poured out upon us the Spirit of *Wboredome* and of a *de:p sleep* ! and hath both made us to *erre* from His way, and *hard'ned* our hearts from his fear. And as we should look behind us to the Rise, so before us to the Result of these things ; for though every runner may read the *Primum mobile* of this course, the great axletree and wheels upon which all moveth, and who are the furious drivers and slavish drawers thereof, and we have both seen the several degrees of Motion & advancement, and smarted the sad effects of the same, yet I am afay'd, that there is now another spirit in Persons & Tendency in affairs than some men apprehend. Whether there be a sufficient

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ufficient ground in the Holy Scriptures to think with some, that before the last fall of the Roman Antichrist, the Popish Religion shall once more overshadow the Christian World. is not proper here to enquire; But considering the great affinity betwixt *Papacy* and *Prelacy*, and the already authorized & practized Conformity of the one to the other, not only in Government & Discipline, whereby they have, for the most part, the same Ecclesiastical Courts and Officers; But also in Worship, whereby they have the same Liturgy, for substance of Epistles, Gospels, Collects and Letany; The same Ceremonies of Rising, Standing to the East, Bowing, Kneeling, Crossing, &c. the same superstitious & fool-like Vestments; the same observation of many dayes, the same adorning of Churches & Chappels, with Altars, Books, Candles, Candlesticks, Basins, Images, and Crucifixes on windows, and the same Jesuitical sign upon their pulpit cloth; And also in several points of Doctrine, preached, licensed and printed, with many other things tedious to be enumerated: Considering also the constitution of Kingdoms, which by Ignorance, Atheisme, disputing and oppugning of the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, Error, Superstition, Profaneness, Indifferency, Formality and Hypocrisy in many, are much more than formerly disposed to embrace whatsoever shall be authorized or indulged: And considering the native tendency of the present Course of Backsliding, which leadeth unto the great Whore, the mother of all these abominations, nothing but gross, wilfull or judicial Ignorance, and estrangement from affairs, can deny that there is too just ground of fear, that ere long (if the Lord do not prevent it) *Brittain* may be again precipitated into the old gulf of Antichristianism. And so much the rather, because it is universally observed & notourly known, that the number of professed Papists, hath increased more within these six Years, than it had for near sixty before; the conviction whereof made some of the Prelates themselves say some
Years

Years hence, that since the Year 1660. there were more thousands of avowed Papists in *Scotland* (compute then what may and must be in *England* and *Ireland*) than before that Year there were hundreds. Whence this is, & whether there be any positive Resolution to reintroduce Popery in these Lands, I do not affirm, but remit it to the consideration of the impartial Reader who understandeth the times, & to Time it self, a great searcher & discoverer of secrets, to declare the genuine meaning & tendency of these things, That the King should publish in print, that the Papists had been faithful Subjects to him and his Father, whilst others under pretence of Religion had involved the Kingdoms in blood; Was that bloody Massacre in *Ireland*, whereof they were the known & acknowledged Actors, though perhaps not the only Authors, such Faithful service? That the execution of penal Statutes against Papists should be superseded, whilst severe penal Statutes are dayly enacted and executed against Protestants, really, though not under that name and notion. That so many known and open Idolatrous Masses should be connived at and tolerated, whilst both publick and private meetings of Protestants for pure Worship are prohibited by Law, and violently interrupted: That so many known professed Papists, Priests and Jesuites, who do not publickly countenance the Prelatical Worship, are permitted to live peaceably and enjoy all their Liberties, whilst non complying Protestants, for simple Non conformity to Prelacy, are imprisoned, fined, confined, scourged, stigmatized, and many otherwayes oppressed & persecuted, in their Estates, Consciences & Names. That so many Papists especially in *England* should enjoy and be dayly advanced to the greatest places of public Power and Trust, not only as members of Parliament, Council, and Court, but as State Officers, Lieutenant Sheriffs, Justices of Counties, and Officers in Army, whilst *Red-bait* Protestants, for simple non-perjuring, are

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some of them not so much as permitted to sit in Parliament, or any other Judicatory; others of them discouraged, disgraced, disarmed, imprisoned and proscribed, and all of them who will not forswear, declared incapable of publick Power or Truist in Church or Commonwealth: That a house for Fathers or Friars is provided; whilst many faithful Ministers are removed and chased from place to place, without any certain habitation: That there should be such universal Report, and so much Presumption of a Popish hand in burning of *London*, which, for number and strength of Protestant Inhabitants, was the most considerable City in the World, and bulwark against the Romish Religion and designs, and yet, as if men were afraid to try the truth in that matter, so little satisfying and effectual course taken, to try and punish the Authors and Actors, and to repress their many other insolent misdemeanors; whilst many thousands of innocent Protestants, who never burnt either house or City, for no other alleaged crime but their peaceable forbearance to bow to the Idol which the King hath set up, are thrown into a furnace of fiery Trial, seven times more heated than ever was known in the Christian World for such a Cause, all things being considered.

It may seem strange to the Nations about, and to the Generations following, that the Church of *Scotland* which had been so faithful and chaste, should have suffered herself to be thus prostituted, and that (if she would not otherways, after the manner of her Fathers, contend for the Faith which she had received) she did not cry to all the World by Declarations and Protestations (as the Maid under the Law) that she was forced; And that of all the sons which she had brought forth, there were so few, either to take her by the hand, and plead openly for her, or to plead with her, that she would put away her whoredoms. This indeed is, and ought to be for a lamentation: But let none therefore conclude (as

some of the profane and perfidious Prelates, measuring others after their own baseness & treachery, had the impudence at first to misrepresent to the Rulers) that all were, or are consentient unto this horrid Apostacy; for even at the beginning thereof, if Synods (which were then resolving to bear publick Witness for the then established Government of the Church, and against the begun Defection, and further progress thereof by the Reintroduction of Prelacy, which was then designed) had not been, some of them, by Proclamation prohibited to conveen, and others of them violently interrupted and raised by Nobles, who, by Order of Parliament, were present for that effect; And if some of her Watchmen (who were neither professedly driving on, nor secretly breathing after Prelacy and Prelatical promotion) had not for Reasons best known to themselves, too much courted and flattered the Powers by their own silence, and withdrawing of their necessary and required concurrence in a publick joint Testimony, there wanted not Faithfulness, Zeal, Courage, Resolutions and some Endeavours in others to have emitted such Declarations, as probably might have crushed the bold attempt of the Prelates in it's infancy, & thereby have prevented much Sin and Suffering which hath ensued thereupon, & certainly would have wineffed to all the World, that the Church without and against her consent was treacherously betrayed & violently forced. Neither hath the Truth, all along from that time till this, wanted many testimonies, though none of them were so National, Universal, Authoritative & Solemn as they should have been; And few of them (perhaps) so explicate, full, plain and bold, as the weight of the matter and other circumstances required: Yea, the continued fears of the Adversaries expressed in the Narratives of several of their own Acts and Proclamations, and their levying of Military Force, for upholding of them and their Cause; The Non

compliance of many thousands, their secret and open complaints and moans because of it, & their daily prayers to God against it, bear witness against this present Course. Besides, it is very observable, that some, who had been chief Authors & Active Promoters thereof and Complyers with the same, and others, who had been intimate familiars and favourers of Prelats and their Vice Curats, in Sicknes and at Death did so much abhorre their way and loath their Persons, that they would not admit their presence, but called for Non-conforming Ministers to speak to them and pray for them; Yea some Gentlemen upon Death bed, did with much sorrow bemoan their own concurrence, and particularly their taking of the Declaration against the Covenant, & seriously warned and exhorted their old Familiars & companions in that guilt to repent thereof, wishing they were able to go and make publick profession of their own Repentance; and others (whilst some friends offered to bring Prelatical men unto them) professed, that though they had sported with such men in health, yet they durst not do so at Death; and some Ministers who had conformed, in remorse thereof, forsook that way, & thereafter died with convincing evidence of Repentance therefore, and declaration against the same: And indeed, as there was never any Course in the Land, which so visibly had the Voluntary and Active Concourse of all and Only the Wicked and Prophane; so there was never a more Universal concurrence and Wrestling together by prayer, of all the Godly without Exception, against any Party & Cause, than now is against this; for there needs no more to make any man (though formerly their friend and familiar) to hate their way and detest themselves, but to convince him of his own Sin, make him thorowly apprehensive of death and Judgment. and become a sincere seeker of God, and Student of holiness in his own Person. And further the late Rising in Armes, is an Argument

gument above contradiction, that Prelacy is an outlandish & Unnatural weed in *Scotland*. It is true, that it had its immediat Rise from cruel Oppression, but it is as true, that all that Oppression, was Authorised by the Rulers, Exercised by the Souldiers, and endured by the People, meerly *Because* and upon accompt of their Faithfulness and Stedfastness in the Covenant and Cause of God, in a non compliance with Prelacy, otherwise they might have lived as quyetly as others, and so soon as they were in a probable Capacity, by renewing of the Covenant, they declared Actively for that same Cause, for which they had suffered so much: It is true also, that the Action is condemned by some as Rebellious, and the Endeavour as Indeliberate, Irrational and Presumptuous: But referring the Reader to the following discourse for full satisfaction thereanent, I shall only here hint, that being altogether accidentally occasioned, by an unforeseen emergent difference betwixt 3, or 4. Souldiers and as many Countrey men, arising from horrid Oppression, through unjust Lawes and cruel military execution thereof, without premediated counsel or contrivance, it cannot be imagined that all the formalities, which may be judged necessary in a matter of that nature & importance, could have been in it: And yet it is presumed, that it wanted nothing but success to have made many of the same persons account the Action just and necessary, and the Enterprize, laudable and valorous. And as for the Persons themselves, it may be truly and without all vanity affirmed, that these many years past, there hath not been in *Brittain* such an other Company of men joyned in Armes for the Covenant and Cause of God: For though where Armies were more numerous, there might be or was the like or a greater number of persons truly Godly: Yet where the whole number was so small, it will be very hard to parallel so many together, of sound Judgement, true Piety, Integrity of heart, fervent zeal, and undaun-

ted Resolution & Courage, and with so small a mixture of persons of corrupt Mindes, profane Conversations & sinistrous Ends: And although we would not be prodigal of mens lives, especially of Saints at this time, when there is so great need & scarcity of intercessors, to stand between the dead and the living; yet that simple act of *Renewing of the Covenant* is more glory to God, & a greater Testimony and Advantage to that buried Covenant & Cause, than (we hope) the loss of so many men as are slain, shall import of damage thereunto. But above all, take notice of the many Sufferings and *Sufferers* hereafter mentioned, whose Blood under the altar, and some of whose *Heads* and *Hands* standing betwixt Heaven and Earth: do not only cry for Vengeance, but night and day bear open Witness against this Adulterous Generation. These mens Testimony should have the more weight and Credite with all, because of the Persons, the Matter, and Manner thereof, which was not by *Wishing*, *Words-speaking*, or *Doing* without danger, which is the height of too many men's atchievment in these dayes, but by *BLOOD*, whereunto they resisted striving against Sin, and thereby, being neither afraid to *Act*, nor ashamed to suffer for their Lord and Master, have left behind them a fair Example of both to all, and a Reproof to many, whose greater Prudence than Zeal, hath taught them to Save themselves, by couching betwixt the burdens. That a great Prince, and yet not so Great as Good, an Eminent and more than ordinarily Useful, and never to be forgotten Instrument of the Work of Reformation & Patron of the Church, and a True & Seeing Prophet, did fall in *Scotland*, when *Argile*, *Wariston* and *Mr Guthrey*, for no other cause but their *Good deeds*, & particularly for *Loving* of our Nation & building of our Synagogue, were led like Innocent sheep to the Slaughter, nothing but Ignorance, Malice, Wickedness, or Partiality can deny: or they wanted nothing to make them Beloved, as they were

were esteemed and Feared by their Enemies, but that they neither did nor would; because for Love and awe of God they durst not with others make Shipwrack of Faith and a Good conscience. Of these three Mighty men, and Others who by Suffering since have obtained the Crown (though some of them, being but Countrey Yeoman, had mean Education; and little other Learning, than what they learned in the Gospel of Him who is meek and Lowly, and whom the Zeal of his Fathers house did eat up) it is below their due Commendation, when it is affirmed, That never any men of the greatest Spirits, Piety and Learning, did Suffer and Die with more Meekness and Patience toward their Enemies, with more Humility and Confidence toward God, with more Faithfulness & Stedfastness in the Truth, without the least injurious reflexion thereupon, or their own adherence thereunto, with more Equability and composure of Spirits; sweetly tempered with the Sorrows of Sin and Joyes of the Holy Ghost, in assurance of Pardon and Life Everlasting, and with less perturbation of mind, and alteration of Carriage or Countenance, than these *Worthies* did. Here indeed was the Faith and Patience of the Saints, here did the Lord stand by and strengthen them whom others forsook: Yea the Lord to the Admiration of all, the conviction of many of their adversaries, the confirmation and Establishment of the Cause, the Encouragement of many thousands, His own Eternal Glory, and their Immortal Commendation, did Work in the hearts of all Beholders, more ample and enduring Epistles of Commendation, than the most Eloquent and Pathetick Rhetorician can Write in their Favours. This accompt further I will give you of the first ten who died together *December 7.* that they once resolved to speak severally to the People at their death; but thereafter considering, that for one Common Cause, and upon the same alleagances, they were all appointed to die one manner of death, together at one time and in one place, and having the conveniency

ency of being together in the Prison, they preferred to leave a word jointly behind them in writ: Which as it was the Cause of one conjunct Testimony, and some others severally; So the Foreseeing Providence of God in this, is very observable: For had it been otherwise (seeing they were not at all permitted to speak to the People upon the scaffold, there had nothing of their joint Testimony been extant, more than is of these who were not suffered to speak at their death in *Glasgow*, and of the rest who Suffered in other places of the West, of whom we have heard nothing more particular, but that the same Spirit of Glory and of God resting upon them, did work in them all, the same Stedfastness, Patience, Humility, Consolation, Courage and Confidence.

These being the last times, wherein Sin aboundeth, & the love of many is waxed cold, I cannot divine what pity shall be shewed to them that are in Misery; especially considering the Universal decay of Religion, and dark cloud of prejudice and discountenance, whereby the Kingdom of Christ is overshadowed, generally the whole world over, and even amongst the Reformed Churches: Nevertheless, there being a Communion of Saints, which should be entertained amongst both Persons & Churches, whereby these of the same true Religion (amongst other things) reciprocally give & receive information of their common affaires, that, if they can or will express no other act of Love, they may (at least) the more sureably Sympathize, and mutually pray one for another; And the Lord in his Providence, giving the opportunity, I thought it convenient, yea necessary, to communicate the following *Deduction of the Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland for the Kingdom of Christ*, hoping, that as it beareth the Name, so, the Wrestling Church of Scotland, in due time shall reap the Blessing of *NAPHTALI*, who *Gen 49: 21.* is called a *Hinde let loose*, and said to *give goodly words*: For who can tell, but Her *Wrestlings* may be swallowed up of *Victory* &

Liberty, and Her ancient Covenanted Doctrine, Worship and Government, may become as *Pleasant* and *acceptable*, at it is *profitable*, not only within herself, but also amongst the Churches abroad. This *Title* being only affirmative of Her, and not Negative of other Churches, as if only She, and not also They, had Wrestled for the Kingdom of Christ, let no man offend thereat: For as the Lord Redeemer hath several Offices, equally Necessary in themselves, and Inseparable by Man, and as particular Churches, as well as Persons, have their peculiar gifts and Excellencies, and accordingly their distinct work assigned unto them, whereby (amongst other things) they, more or less eminently, assert and Propugne this or that particular Truth; So in this distribution, where as other Churches have asserted and contended for his *Priestly* and *Prophetical* Offices, the lot seemeth to have fallen upon *Scotland*, to assert & wrestle more eminently than many others, for the *Crown* and *Kingdom* of Jesus Christ. For the establishment of this, did our first famous Reformers strive by the evidence of Holy Scripture, as well as for Soundness of Doctrine and Purity of Worship; for Preservation and Restauration of this, did their Worthy Successors Zealously contend by Petitions, Warnings, Conferences and Disputations; all invasion, Usurpation, or the least encroachment upon this, did they valiantly resist by Protestations and Declinations, and for a Testimony to this, did they patiently Suffer Bonds, Imprisonment, Confinement, Sentences of Death, and (of late) Death it self. Neither should any man think this strange, as if *Presbyterial* Government were in it self Unlawful, or the *Species* of Church Government, were indifferent; and consequently Contending & Suffering therefore, Unwarrantable or Needless, as Pretenders to different Forms (upon the right and left hand) would have the World beleeve. Hitherto indeed the Church of *Scotland* hath been as a Speckled bird, & the birds round about have been against her, She hath endured the scourge of many

tongues, as well as Violence of many hands, upon both hands false witnesses have laid to her charge things which she knew not; as being (amongst other things) too Laxe or too Rigide; Yeas Unnatural Children have eaten thorow their Mothers bowels, so Unkindly Brethren have rewarded her evil for good, *Standing on the other side and looking upon her and her affliction in the day of her calamity, rejoicing over her in the day of her destruction, and speaking proudly in the day of her distress, yea laying hands on her Substance in the day of her calamity.* The wrath of man worketh not the Righteousness of God, neither doth his invincible Truth need the help of humane Passions, if therefore, such men do not fear, I shal not desire, that *their own tongues may fall upon themselves, and that the Lord may render unto them according to their deeds, and according to the wickedness of their endeavours,* but rather study the revenge of good will by Prayer, that He would open their eyes and convertt their hearts, that they may take revenge on themselves. Charity, which thinketh no evil, obleigeth to beleieve, till wee see the contrary; that Scripture, Conscience, Covenant & Credite will make those who did once laudably assert, constantly propugn & adhere to the *Jus Divinum* of Presbyterial Government; until they publish (which none can do) as convincing reasons of Retraction & contrary Practice: And whatever might be expected of others, Religion, Reason, Candor, Gratitude, and Policy would seem to require, that those who in their distress intreated & obtained the succesful Assistance of the Covenanted Interest of Scotland, and others, who owe thereunto whatever they are, or have more then just nothing, debt, or broken fortunes should have been so far from contemptuous throwing away the Covenant as an old Almanack; when, by it as a stirrup, they had mounted the saddle of Power, Promotion and Riches, and from subtile dissolving the nerves, or forcible breaking the Arme of Presbytery, that they should rather have said to both as Ruth to Naomi; *where thou goest,*

I will go; where thou lodgest, I will lodge; thy People shall be my People, and thy God my God: Where thou diest, I will die, & there will I be buried: God do so to me and more also; if ought but death part thee and me. And it may be truly said, as the Church of Scotland hath had no Detractors, but such as were Ignorant of her, or mis-informed about her, or whom Faction, Partiality, Prejudice, wickedness or Love of unlawful Liberty did inspire: So no Person or Party hath endeavoured hitherto to root out *Presbytery*, but the Lord hath made it a burdensome stone unto them: And I am sure, there is no other Form of Church Government can boast of so many Testimonies by *Blood* as *Presbyterial* Government might do. But of all Contradictors, the Church of *Scotland*, of old and late, hath only had to do (within herself) with *Prelatists*, some whereof, being high flown; have pleaded a *Jus Divinum*, others (Antiquaries) have pleaded *Antiquity*, and many *Adiaphorists* of late, being beaten from both these strengths, have pleaded *Indifferency* in general, and only *Jus Carolinum*, as to this or that *species*: But as no eyes, save their own, neither these except by delusion of their sense, could ever see *Prelacy* (that is, an Ordinary Ecclesiastical Order, Distinct from and Superior to that of a Preaching Presbyter, having the sole power of Ordination and Jurisdiction) in the Holy Scripture, otherwise than by Prohibition to Lord it over Gods heritage, or in the example of *Diotrephes* who loved *Prebeminence* (as many famous writings, whereunto I refer the Reader, unanswerably demonstrate) and therefore, the Office being a stranger in the Word of God, rather than the brazen Serpent which once had Divine Institution, should be *Nebuchsean* in the Church; So let no man, Exorcist-wise, adjure us by the Charming word of *Antiquity*, *Primitive times* and *Bishops*, *Fathers*, &c. For *Moses* we know, the Prophets and Apostles we know, but what is *Antiquity*, and who are the primitive bishops and Fathers? Must men be stigmatized, as giddy headed Novellists, and as much A-

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them in their Principles and Professions, as other men in their Newes, or then be Implicite in tail-following Antiquaries? No, there is a *Medium* of proving all things, & holding that which is good: *Pure* Antiquity deserveth all esteem and reverence, but *Simple* Antiquity, *as such*, is neither a certain nor Safe Rule, and much less obliging to future times. and so remote as our's are. Our Lord Himself repelleth that pretence, that *it was said of Old*: Were there not many Errors and Corruptions (which themselves will not Justify) as ancient, and early in the Church (yea more) than Prelacy is alleaged to be? We are commanded *to the Law and Testimony*, but never to the Fathers, and good reason, because few or none of them were without gross errors in Judgment or Practice: Are not the writings of the first Age very few, or obscure? Are not many of these and after Ages lost or Corrupted? Yea other latter writings are deceitfully emitted under the name of Ancient Times and Persons, so that in such a mist, it is hard to determine what was written by these Fathers, what not: Latter, Corrupt or Inadvertant writers about these former times, did speak of Persons and things, under the abused Names which were corruptly used in their own times: And the writings of particular Persons (suppose of greatest Antiquity) do rather hold forth their own private Opinion, or the Practice of the Time and Place wherein they lived, than the Universal Judgment and Practice of the Church in all Times and Places. And if they will Sanctuary themselves in primitive Times, let it be cleared what is meant by *Primitive*; For if the two first Ages be meant, it is more than they can do, to prove by sufficient Authority, that there was then such a Prelacy, as is before mentioned, or now usurped and exercised; If after ages be meant, wherein the Church grew more corrupt; and Prelacy did aspire and exalt it self, to an Universal Supremacy in the Bishop of Rome, & establishment of that Antichristian Hierarchy, then indeed they are like themselves, for twins were never

more like in face, than the present Prelats resemble the Romish, but then it were Candor in them, to tell plainly, that Papacy and Prelacy are of one Original, with this difference, that Prelacy is the first born, or rather the Father which begat the other; And if they mean a Middle time, betwixt these Periods, wherein indeed Bishops were first known in the Church, and will reckon their descent from them, why are they so unlike unto them, that they look neither like Sons nor Successors? Ask those who have dived into these depths of Antiquity: and they will tell, that a present Prelat, and a faithful Presbyterian Pastor (or Moderator at most) do little more differ, than the present Prelats and the first Primitive Bishops: For as it was long before such a thing was known in the Church, so when thorow the Malice & Subtilty of Sathan, the Ambition of some Church men, the Unwatchfulness of others, and Indulgence of some Magistrats, it did creep in, at first it was intended and acknowledged for no more, then a Prudential Humane device for greater Unity (a Cure, because without warrant, worse than the disease, which, as the Apostles never prescribed in their own times, though there were then many Divisions, so there is a like Reason to extend further to Papal Supremacy, in the case of divisions amongst Prelats and Patriarches) and had never the impudence to aspire (with some present Prelats) so high as *Jus Divinum*; At first these Primitive Bishops, being Elected by other Presbyters, with consent of the people, and not by the Civil Magistrat only, now the Prelats are by the Kings Letter to the Dean & Chapter, were Ordained by the onlaying of the hands of Presbyters and not of Bishops only, as the Prelats are; Their Ordination was not Essentially different from that of Presbyters, nor to an Order distinct from that of Presbyters or Pastors, as the Consecration of the Prelats is alleaged to be; Neither did they (though perhaps they had a negative voice) usurp the sole power of Ordination and Jurisdiction

isdiction, nor Exerce the Acts thereof, without the
 potestative Concurrence of Other Presbyters, as now the
 Prelats do; Many of them being Holy, Humble, and
 Sober in their conversation toward the people and other
 Presbyters, did not (with the present Prelats) assume
 the lofty Titles of *Lordship*, *Grace*, &c. Nor live and ride
 in such state and pomp, claiming and taking the preference
 of the greatest Peeres of the Land; Ordinarily, and especi-
 ally at the beginning, they had not such vast charges, as
 now the Prelats have Diocies over Hundreds of Pastors, &
 many Thousands of people, to whom it is utterly impossible
 to perform Ministerial duties; Being diligent Preachers
 themselves, they were not, as the Prelats are, Idle drons,
 nor Non-Residents, nor yet of a strange language to the
 people, as *Wallace*, through his ignorance of the Irish
 tongue, and almost of all others except his Mothers, must
 be a Barbarian to his Diocy of the Western Isles, Neither
 did they involve themselves in Secular affairs and Offices,
 than which, what is there more absurd in Reason, and re-
 pugnant to Scriptural precept and Example? For Christ
 Himself telleth us, that his Kingdome is not of this World,
Ioh. 18: 38. and how can his Officers be of it? He refused
 to be a judge, *Luc. 12: 14.* And, speaking to the Disci-
 ples of Civil Authority and Dominion, saith, it shall not be
 so amongst you, *Mat. 20: 25. Luc. 22: 25.* And the Apo-
 stle *Paul* telleth us, that Ministerial weapons are not
 Carnal. *2 Cor. 10: 4.* And that the Ministers of the Gospel
 should not entangle themselves with the *affairs of this Life*
2 Tim. 2: 4. That the Ministerial calling is so weighty, that
 the best qualified and most diligent is not *sufficient* for it,
2 Cor. 2: 16. how then are they sufficient for it, and civil
 affairs too? And therefore they should *Wait* upon it,
Rom. 12: 7. and give themselves *wholly* to it, *1 Tim. 4: 15.*
 and not wait (as the Prelats do upon Courts, Parliaments,
 Council, Convention of Estates, &c. as members thereof,
 nor Exerce the office of Provosts, Justices of peace, &c.

Nor will it excuse them, that they commit Ministerial inspection of the flock to Deputes: For if they be Shepherds, should not the *Shepherds feed the Flock*? *Ezeck. 34. 2.* If to them be committed the Ministry, Teaching, Exhorting, should they not themselves *Wait* upon these? *Rom. 12. 7.* If they must give accompt of Souls, should they not *Watch* for them? *Heb. 13. 17.* And if the Lord will *require* the flock at their hand, *Ezeck. 34. 10.* how wil they answer to God, the people, their own Conscience (if they have any) or to others who ask a reason of them, for *feeding of themselves only*, & committing the flock to Others, and especially to such, who are so far from being Learned, Holy, Apt to teach, Blameless, of a good report, chaste, Sober, Grave, Lovers of good men, Meek and Gentle, as the Scripture requireth, that many are Novices, Ignorant, Prophane, Light, Given to Wine, False, Covetous, Contentious, Proud, Passionat, and Self willed, and so far from taking *heed to the flock*, or being an *Example* to them, in Word, Conversation, Charity, Spirit, Faith and Purity, that they neither *take heed to themselves*, nor *rule their own families well*? I remember that one speaking of such as commit the flock to Vicar Curats (as all are who serve under Prelacy) saith, *Adibunt per Vicarios in Paradisum, in Persona in Inferos.* They shall go to Heaven by their Deputes, but to Hell in Person. These men (if I may borrow an allusion from the duty and commendation of faithful and approven Ministers) have taken forth the Precious from the Vile, and taught the people the difference between the Holy and Profane, & caused men to discern between the Unclean and the Clean; but mark *How*, & for what End; Is it not by making *sad the hearts of the Righteous*, whom they have selected, & set up as the only object of all their malice & persecution, & *Strengthening the hands of the Wicked*, whom they have taken into their bosome, as their only Familiars & Confidants. The one they thrust with the side & shoulder, the other they do not suffer to turn from his evil way, by prom-
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ling his life. But if any desire more particular information about them, amongst other places to that purpose, let them read & consider, *Ier* 23: 9. to 33. & 5: 31. *Ezeck.* 34: 1. to 11. and 22. 25, 26, 28. *Zeph.* 3: 4. *Mal.* 2. 8, 9. *Mat.* 23. and (as face answereth to face in water) they shall see their Call, Qualities, Doctrine, Conversation, Works and Influence amongst the people, and the Effects of all, together with their righteous Doom and Reward. He hath already made Contemprible and Base before the people, those who have corrupted the Covenant of *Levi*, and being partial in the Law, have made many to stumble thereat, and will he not cause to cease from feeding of the flock, those who feed themselves, eat the fat and cloath with the wooll, but do not (for indeed they cannot) strengthen the diseased, heal the sick, bind up that which is broken, bring back that which is driven away, nor seek that which is lost. They have not only turned his house of Prayer into a den of Theeves, but from them is profaneness gone forth over all the Land, & seeing they deserve no more honourable Exit, will he not scourge out of his Temple those who have sold Faith and a good Conscience for a mease of pottage? Yea seeing He hath said it, we will beleeve; that He will make the false Prophet & the Unclean Spirit pass out of the Land, and that these men shall bear the Wounds or marks of False Prophets, and for shame shall deny (for lies are their ordinary refuge) that ever they were prophets, And that Others, perhaps their nearest Relations, the Fathers and Mothers who begat them, shall so little esteem, regard, or Pity them, that they shall account them unworthy to live (*Ye shall not live.*) And that He will again gather those that are now sorrowful for the solemn Assemblies, that he will search for the flock, seek that which was lost, bring back that which was driven away, bind up that which was broken, and strengthen that which was sick, by the hand of Pastors after his own Heart, who, under and after the Example of the great shepheard **DAVID**, shall feed them

in a good pasture with Wisedome and Understanding. To all this, as well as the Curse upon them who make the blind to wander out of the way, let all the People say, *Amen.*

Neither are they who plead an *Indifferency* of Forms of Ecc. Government, more Scriptural or Rational than the Former: For it seemeth equally absurd & inconsistent with the Faithfulness of J. Christ, who was faithful to Him who appointed him; With the Lords way of dealing with the Jewish Church, whereunto he prescribed a Specificall and Fixed Form of Government; And with the Perfection and Plainness of the Holy Scriptures, wherein all Church Assemblies, Officers, Powers, Acts, and who should Exercise the same, and every other thing necessarily belonging thereunto, which the Light of Nature doth not teach, & is not common to it with Civil Government and Order; are clearly held forth, Expressly or by necessary Consequence, in Special or General directions and warrantable Examples (as appeareth by the many debates Extant thereunto) to leave the Government of his Church Indifferent, and Arbitrarily determinable and alterable, according to the will of the Civil Magistrat. or the various and mutable humours and Inclinations of Persons, Times and Places, or the pretended conveniency of Civil Policy, as to leave Doctrine and Worship thus Indifferent, and arbitrarily determinable and variable, according to these crooked and changeable rules: If Church Government must be Indifferent, and thus arbitrarily determinable and Ambulatory, because the Holy Scriptures do not Expressly affirme, that Presbyterial Government is the *Only* Government, which should be in the Christian Church, and also Expressly declare, that it is *Unalterable* to the worlds end, and that the first Institution and Practice thereof, by the Apostles and their Successors in the Ministry, never was nor shall be *Repealed*, why may not the Civil Magistrat, or any other arrogating a power of Instituting or Altering Church Government.

vernment or Officers, by Parity of reason, make many other Necessary and Practical points of Faith, which are not more expressly declared by the Holy Scriptures to be Unalterable Truths, than Presbyterian Government is (though all be evident enough) to be also Indifferent, and arbitrarily determinable and mutable? And then farewell Infant baptism, Womens receiving of the Lords Supper, and observation of the first day of the week for the Christian Sabbath, yea, farewell Law and Testimony, and more sure Word of Prophecy, wherunto we should go and take heed; & for a new Rule of Faith and Practice welcome Humane Prudence, State Policy, Corrupt and Changeable Disposition of man, & pretended Necessity, or Conveniency of State, Time and Place; yea welcome all Doctrines and Practices, which, though they were once positively prohibited, can allege that the Scripture doth not Expressly declare, that they never were, nor shall be repealed. And where are we then? In vain is the Law, in vain is the pen of the Scribe, and every one, without transgression, may do what seemeth good in his own eyes, if only he can Temporize, and offend not the Civil Magistrat, by violation of his Arbitrary Institutions and Lawes in Church affairs, wherein he must be Supream. *O my soul, come not into the secrets of such Latitudinarian, or rather (in this) Nullifidian Adiaphorists.* We would not be here mistaken, as it we denyed to the Civil Magistrat any Power, which the Holy Scriptures allow unto Him; for as we assert his Office to be an Ordinance of God, and his Person (being lawfully therewith vested) to be signally impressed with a special Character of Majestick Authority, wherefore, in a due Subordination to Him who is Lord over all, He should be subjected to and obeyed; So we chearfully grant, that, whereas the Heathen Magistrat (because of his Moral incapacity to Exerce more power) about Religion and Ecclesiastical affairs, hath only a Power in *Actu signato* and *jus ad rem*, the Christian Magistrat

hath *ius in re*, and in *Actu Exercitio* may and should by his Lawes establish the true Religion within his dominions, & command his Subjects to make publick profession thereof; That by his Civil Sanction he may and should Ratify Ecclesiastical Sentences, agreeable to the Word of God; That anent these he may and should Exercise an Antecedent Discretive Iudgment, whereby he may not add an Implicit approbation; That for Preaching and Propagation of the Gospel, and for nursing of Piety and Learning, he may & should provide Necessary and Convenient accommodation and encouragement, as to Persons, Places and Revenues; That for his own Information and Advice; he may call Occasional Meetings of Church Officers and others, to Conferre and Debate matters before him; That *Pro re nata* he may Convocate Ecclesiastical Synods, to reason and conclude Church affairs according to the Scripture; That for his own Information, and for preventing of Outward Force and Inward Confusion, he may be Present therein by Himself or his Delegates; That by his Power he may and should Defend and Encourage the Church, in the free and peaceable Possession of all her Intrinsecal Priviledges, and all the Members thereof, in the Profession and Practice of the same; That by the same Authority he may and should repress Error, Heresy, Superstition, Atheisme, Blasphemy and Profaneness, and Punish the Authors and Spreaders thereof; That in case of negligence, he may Command all, and even Ministers, to performe their respective duties in general, as necessity requirerh; And that for Civil transgressions, he may Civilly punish Ecclesiastical Persons; as well as other Subjects, according to the Law of God and Righteous Lawes of the Land: The Zealous discharge of all which, we would thankfully acknowledge to God and Man, as the performance of that gracious Promise, that *Kings shall be the Churches nursing Fathers*. But if discontented herewith, as if all this, together with the Weighty affairs of the Common wealth,

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were too little work for his Transcendent Power and Abilities, and as if Jesus Christ had no Kingdom or Government, or these were not distinct from the Kingdoms & Government of the World, or though they were, as if he were equally Head and Fountain of Faith, He will needs arbitrarily Institute, or Alter the Species of Church Government; Authorize, Exauthorize or restrain Church Officers, in the Exercise of the Power of Order or Jurisdiction, in whole or in part, as the Parliament and Council have prohibited some Hundreds the whole Exercise of their Ministry, and the *High Commission* (which claimeth no power, but what is solely and immediatly derived from the King) hath deprived some from the Office, and interdicted Others the administration of the Lords Supper; If he will Define Articles of Faith, and prescribe what heads of Doctrine, Ministers shall treat, or not treat of in their Sermons, as the King hath done in his printed Letter to the Bishop of York; And thereupon Primarily, Immediatly, and Antecedently to any Judgment of the Church, which is the Pillar of Truth, and to which the Spirits of the Prophets are Subject, Cognosce and Determine of Ministers Doctrine, when the Church herself is willing and ready to try the Spirits; And Criminally or Capitally punish them therefore, under the pretence of Treason and Rebellion, as several instances can be adduced against King and Council in the series of our Church; If he will Ordain particular Church Censurs to be executed against particular persons, for particular, definite, Ecclesiastical (alleged) offences, leaving nothing undone by Himself in person, but the Execution of what he hath appointed, As the Parliament hath appointed Suspension and Deprivation of Ministers, for not observing the Bishops meetings, and the King in his Commission to the *High Commission* hath appointed Excommunication, whereas they may as well Immediatly Suspend, Deprive and Excommunicat themselves, as Appoint them to be executed in the manner specified in the said Act of Par-

parliament and Commission; If after the example of Antichristian or Pagan Nations, he will institute and Enjoin Needles, Vain, Superstitious, Significant and Burden-some Rites in the Worship of God, as most of the Imposed Ceremonies in the Lyrurgy, can be instructed to be. If he will arrogate the Sole Power of convocating Ecclesiastical Synods, which is an Intrinsic privilege of the Church, whereof She was in Possession three hundred years before there was a Christian Magistrat in the world Authorizing it. And will Imprison, Confine, Condemn, and Banish Ministers, for pleading and Practising this Right, as King James did not a few in and about the Year 1606. and the Present King of late, by Parliament, Council and Commissioner, did interdict all the Lawful Assemblies of the Church, which did not derive their Power from the Abjured and Perjured Prelats; and if he will not only claim the only power of indicting Solemn Fasts and Thanksgivings, as *de Facto* is done these 5 or 6. Years past, but also institute a day to be Anniversarily Holy for ever, which no mortal man can do; If, I say, He will thus Invade the Kingdom of Christ, confound it with the Kingdoms of the World, and equally Exerce the Governments of both, no man needs pronounce, but rather fear the Domestical and Personal doom, Executed upon Saul and Vzziah for usurping the Priests office. How unequal dealing is it, that He who clamoureth so much of other men, and particularly Ministers wandering without their sphere, and overstretching - meddling with Civil affairs, should himself be Circumscribed and move within no Fixed sphere? Is it not enough that He have a power Objectively Ecclesiastical, about Church affaires, but he must also have a power Formally Ecclesiastical, whereby he may Exerce Acts purely Spiritual, and proper to Church Officers? Will it not suffice him, that he have an External power, of providing for the Church, and protecting of her from Outward Violence or Inward Disorder, but he must also have an Internal

al power, of Doctrine, Government, and Discipline, joind the several Forms and Acts thereof; Is it not Sufficient that he have an Imperat power, whereby He may command all his Subjects, as such, to do their respective duties; but he must also have an Elicit power, whereby he may at least materially or equivalently Exerce Spiritual Acts in his own person? Will it not please him, that he have a fore Secondary Power of Judicial Approbation or Condemnation of what the Church hath already found and declared to be Truth or Error, but he must also have a Primary and immediat Power of Cognition of Truth and Error, Antecedent to any Judgment of the Church thereanent? Will it not satisfy him; that he have a Discretive power, whereby he may not Implicitely Ratify Ecclesiastical Sentences, but he must also have a Definitive power of Authoritative Decision? And in a word, is it not enough, that he have a Cumulative power of Confirming and Strengthening the power & privileges of the Church, but he must also have a privative power, whereby (if he please) he may destroy the same?

That the Lord hath had, & to the Worlds end will have a Church, none who beleeve the Authority of the Holy Scriptures can deny or question; And that he hath fixed Discriminative boundaries between his own and the Kingdoms of the Earth (that is, between his Church and other Civil Societies, and their respective Governments) is no less evident: For though both consist of Men, and sometimes of the same persons; though both have Order and Government; a power to Exerceise the same, & that Derived from God; and the persons invested therewith should be qualified; and in the Exercise thereof should walk Absolutely by the Rule of the Word; punishing and Censuring after clear Conviction by Confession or probation; And should Ultimately aime at the Glory of God, and Good of the people; and for that effect be mutually subservient and useful one to another (in these amongst other things, they agree) Yet they

they are **Formally** distinct: For they consist of men under distinct Nations and Relations; Civil Society and Policy is founded upon the Light and Law of Nature, Ecclesiastical by Revealed Positive precept; The one is Common to all men as Men, the other is Peculiar to those who profess the True God; The Form of the one may be Monarchical, the other not; The object of the one is Civil, the other is Spiritual; The nature of the one and Manner of Exercing it, is Magisterial, the Other Ministerial; The Acts and Sentences of the one are Corporal, the other Spiritual. The Immediat Rule of Exercing the one is the Lawes of the Land, and the other the Word of God and Ecclesiastical Constitutions agreeable thereunto; The one is performed in the Name of the Supream Magistrat, the other in the Name of Jesus Christ; The Immediat End of the one is the Good of the Commonwealth, the other, the Good of Souls. Yet though the Church and Commonwealth of the Jewes, of all others that ever were, did most agree, yet were they *Formally* distinct: For they had ordinarily distinct *Rulers*, the Priest and Levits for the one, Judges & Kings for the other; They had distinct *Acts* Sacrificing, praying &c. in the Church; Death, Banishment, Confiscation, Imprisonment, *Ezra* 2: 26. in the State; They had distinct *Objects*, the Matters of the *Lord* and the Matters of the *King*, *2 Chron.* 19: 11. Distinct *Lawes*, The Ceremonial for the Church, the Judicial for the Commonwealth, and the Moral for both; They had sometimes distinct *Members*, when these of the One were not admitted to some Priviledges of the Other; The *Form* of the State did alter from Judges to Kings, but the Churches was unalterably the same: And they had their distinct Periods of Duration, for the Church continued (though corrupt) after the Civil Government was overturned by the Romans.

And as the Church and State of the Jewes were in these things

things distinct, so had they their distinct Governments, and Judicatories for Exercing the same Respectively; For Ex. 24: 1. there are 70. Elders, who ver. 14. appear to be vested with Authority, and to have *Aayon* and *Hur* for their Presidents or Moderators; now these 70 Elders cannot be the 70, who Numb. 11. shared of the Government with *Moses*, for these mentioned Exod. 24. were in Authority, when the *Israelites* were at *Sinai*, whereas the other mentioned Numb. 21. were chosen after they went from *Sinai*; neither can they be any other 70 in Civil Authority, because before the Election of those Numb. 11. *Moses* was alone in the Government. Again Deut. 17. there are distinct causes, viz. *Blood, & Blood, plea and plea*, which were Civill, & *Stroake & Stroake*, which (whether it was Leprosy) belonged to the Priests to Judge of; Lev. 13: 3. Distinct Rulers, viz. the Priests the Levites, and the Judge, who v. 11. are distinguished by the disjunctive particle Or; Distinct Acts of telling (or expounding) the Sentence of the Law, & of telling Judgment v. 10, 11. & distinct Penalties, of Death, and purging the Evill from *Israel*, v. 12. Further in 1 Chr. 23: 4. Ye will find 6000 of the Levites who were Officers and Judges, which must needs have been in Ecclesiastical affairs, because, 1 Chron. 28: 1. there were Princes of Tribes, Captains of Thousands, Hundreds, Stewarts and Officers, for Civil affairs. And, 2 Chron. 19: 8. &c. there are Church Officers, Priests, Levites, chief of the Fathers; there are distinct Matters, the Matters of the Lord, and the Matters of the King. Ver. 11. There are distinct Acts or Sentences, for Warning not to trespass is more proper to Ecclesiastical than Civil Persons; And there are distinct Moderators or Presidents, *Amariah* is over you for the Matters of the Lord, and *Zebadiah* for the Matters of the King. Now what should all this mean, viz. Distinct causes, and Persons set over them to Judge them respectively, and what meaneth these distinct Acts, Sentences and Penalties, if not to hold out the Distinction

ction of Government, and of Judicatories respectively as exercising the same? Yea what was in the Old Testament we may know by what we read in the New, for *Matth.* 21 *N* *ver.* 23. and 27: *ver.* 1. and 26: v. 3, 57, 59. *Act* 4: v. 5, 6, 25. and 5: v. 21, 27. there are *Assemblies & Councils*, which must needs be Ecclesiastical: not only because they consisted of Ecclesiastical persons, the *High Priest*, *Chief Priests* and *Elders of the People* cognosced of Ecclesiastical Causes, the *life*, *Doctrine* and *Authority* of Christ and his Apostles; and past Ecclesiastical Sentences about preaching in the Name of Christ, *Act.* 4. and 5. But also because (the *Jews* being subdued) the Supream civil Government was taken out of their hands, and little left them but the Ecclesiastical. And if at any time, in the Old Testament, the same persons were members of both Judicatories, it was under distinct Notions and considerations, as Ecclesiastical in the one, and Civil in the Other; As now the Ruling Elder, under several Considerations and Capacities, may be a member of an Ecclesiastical and Civil Judicatory. It is true that the High Priests and some Kings had great hand in both Civil & Ecclesiastical affairs, but Extraordinary, and (may be) Typicall instances are not an Ordinary and Universal Rule; And it may be also, that in the New Testament these Councils meddled in Civil Affairs, for *Matth.* 27: *ver.* 1. they take counsel against Jesus to put him to death, but that was by Corrupt Abuse of their Power, which crept in, in the declining State of the Church, and when the Civil Government was taken from them by strangers, or when, wanting a Magistrat, they took more upon them than at another time; for it was not so from the beginning, and was by the like Corrupt and Extravagant Abuse, as now the *High Commission* (if it be an Ecclesiastical Court) doth Scourge, Stigmatize, Fine and Banish, or the *Peers* now as Members of Parliament, Council, and *Session*, make themselves Judges of Blood, Pleas, &c. And as this

trively as this was the Manner & Difference of the Jewish
 ment Church and State under the Old Testament, so under the
 th. 21 New Testament, there is by Divine Institution, a *Formal*
 : 2. 5. and *Specificall* Difference, between the Government of
 Coun- the Church and Common-wealth: For ye will not only
 ly be find Office-bearers Given unto, and Set in the Church.
 High Rom. 12: ver. 8. 1 Cor. 12: ver. 28. Ephes. 4: ver. 11. Which
 ed of are as wel Distinct from Office-bearers of the State as
 rity of from the People, for neither Magistrat nor People were
 inten- ever called *Apostles*, *Prophets*, *Evangelists*, &c. especi-
 and 5. ally in the Apostles sence; But also **RULERS**, distinct
 dream from the Rulers of the Common-wealth, who 1 *Thess.* 5:
 and ver. 12. are *Over* the People, and *Hebr.* 13: ver. 17 *Rule over*
 time, them. Now these Rulers cannot be the Magistrat, for in
 nbers none of the places doth the Apostle Intend or Mention
 s and him. Besides, at that time there was not a Christian Magi-
 vil in stratt to Rule the State, and how should the Rule of the
 vera Church be committed to a Pagan? And 1 *Tim.* 5: ver. 17.
 of an He that Labours in Word and Doctrine, seemeth to have
 t the more Honour, than He who Ruleth which, if either Ma-
 n Ci- gistrat or Prelate be the Ruler, how they will Relish, &
 (may that the poor preaching Presbyter should be more Ho-
 versal- noured than they, let any man Judge. Here then are Ec-
 ment- clestical Rulers, distinct from these of the Common-
 . 27. wealth. To these Rulers belongeth the Cognition of Ec-
 but- clestical Offences, in Contradistinction to Civil Causes
 crep- and Judges; *Matth.* 18.--- *Tell the Church*: Now the
 n the Civil Magistrat cannot be this Church, where is He ever
 , or so termed? Or how will He, (being himself a Heathen)
 hem account another man so: Here then is a *Church* distinct
 gin- from the Common-wealth; here are Church-Offences
 t A- distinct from Breaches of Civil or Municipall Lawes;
 tica- here is Church- Delation or Complaint distinct from any
 n, or complaint to the Magistrat, *tell the Church*; and conse-
 and- quently, here is a Church power of Cognition of these
 And- offences, distinct from that which resides in the Magistrat,
 this

else it were in vain to tell the Church, and as good or better
 to tell the Magistrat; And here is a Church-Sentence,
Let him be unto thee as a Heathen, which the Magistrat,
 being then Heathen himself, would never pronounce
 against, or inflict as a Punishment upon another man.
 To these Church-Rulers also is committed not only the
 Power of Order, or Pastorall Administration of Word
 and Sacraments, but also the Power of Jurisdiction, whe-
 ther Dogmatical, Diatactically, Critical, or Exusiatistical,
 and not to the Civil Magistrat; And accordingly Jesus
 Christ giveth the Keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven to
 Peter and not to Cesar *Mat. 16: 19*. Ye will find Church-
 Assemblies, distinct from Parliaments, Convention of
 Estates, Senats, &c. (yea when the Magistrat was an Ene-
 my) determining questioned Matters of Faith and Pra-
 ctice, *Act. 15*. The Apostle Paul enjoineth the Church
 of Corinth, and not the Magistrat, both to Excommuni-
 cat and Absolve the Incestuous man, *1 Cor. 5: 4, 5*. and
2 Cor. 2: 7, 8: The same Apostle leaveth Titus, and not the
 Magistrat to Ordain Elders in Every City. *Tit. 1. v. 5*.
 and accordingly it is performed by the Presbytery, and
 not by the Magistrat, *1 Tim. 4: 14*. The Apostle John
 threateneth by Himself, and not by the civil Magistrat,
 to Censure Diotrephes, *3 John 10*. And as the Power it
 self, and the several Acts thereof are Committed to
 Church-Officers; So to them and not to the Civil Magi-
 strat, are all the Directions given for Regulation of the
 Exercise thereof, distinct from the Directions given to
 the Magistrat for Regulation of the affairs of the Com-
 mon-wealth: and so in the case of Offence, there must
 be private rebuke before Publick delation, *Mat. 18:*
15, 16, 17. In the case of Publick Scandal, there must be
 a Rebuking before all, *1 Tim. 5: 20*. In the case of Publick
 Censure, there must be Notoriety of the Fault *1 Cor. 5: 1*.
 or sufficient conviction of the Person, by Confession or
 Probation, *Mat. 18: 15*. In the case of Excommunica-
 tion,

tion, it must be when the Church is gathered together, 1 Cor. 5: 4. and not (after the Prelatical fashion) in a corner; In the case of Absolution, there must be sufficient evidence of Repentance, 2 Cor. 2: 7. In the case of Ordination of Ministers, there must be the Election of the People, Act. 6: 3, 4, 5. Trial, 1 Tim. 3: 10. & laying on of the hands of the Presbytery, 1 Tim. 4: 14. and they must be Fixed to particular flocks, Tit. 1: 5. How distinct are these, and all other Directions given to Church-Officers for Regulation thereof, from the directions given to the civill Magistrat for Regulation of the Commonwealth? And the Church Officers, & not the civil Magistrat, are commended or Discommended according as they faithfully or unfaithfully Exerce this Power and follow these Directions: So the Angel of the Church of Ephesus (which I hope none will say was the Magistrat) is commended for Trying them, which said they were Apostles and were not, Revel. 2. 2. It was not the Emperor, Senat, &c. that tryed these false Apostles, as of late the Parliament, Council, & High Commission ejected many Hundreds of faithful Ministers without Trial; The Angels of the Churches of Pergamus and Thyatira are discommended, for tolerating false Doctrine and Corrupt Practice, 2. 11, 15, 20. so is the Church of Corinth blamed for not timely Excommunicating of the Incestuous Person. 1 Cor. 5. For the like Omissions which are reprov'd in these Angels, I know them who now deserve a sharper censure, *sed quod desertur non aufertur.*

From all which, as the Formal and Specificall Difference betwixt the Power & Government of Church and Commonwealth is abundantly evident; So Jesus Christ Himself, & not the civil Magistrat, is the Author & Fountain of Church-Power and Government; Than which there can be nothing more clear to them, who do not wilfully shut their own eyes, or whom the God of this world hath not blinded: For, besids that Himself telleth us

that He hath recieved all Power and Judgement from the Father, *Mat. 28. ver. 18. Iohn. 5. ver. 22.* and Iohn beareth him that Testimony. *Iohn. 3. ver. 35.* And who should derive Power to others, but He who received it for that end? Let us consider his Name and Relation to the Church; In what Relation he standeth to the Commonwealth or civil Magistrat, I do not here enquire, but the Apostle tells us, that *He*, and not the civil Magistrat, is *Head of the Church Ephes. 1:22. and 5:23.* & as such, he doth not only Mystically communicat inward Grace to the members, but Oeconomically derive Power and Direction for the Outward Regulation of the whole body. How then can the Magistrat be Head of the Church, or supream Governor in all causes Ecclesiastical? Must the Church have two Heads, or a Head above a Head? Why may not a Church Officer or Officers, as wel claim (with the Pope) to be Head of the Commonwealth? Will they shew us a Warrant from Scripture or Reason for the one, which will not as strongly plead for the other? Well then, let Christ be still Head of the Church. And as such, Ye will find *Him*, and not the civil Magistrat, *Instituting* all Church-Ordinances for Administration of Word and Sacraments, *Mat. 28:19. 1 Cor. 11:23.* for Excommunication and Absolution, *Matt. 18:17, 18.* and all other Acts of Government and Discipline: Ye will find *Him*, and not the civil Magistrat *Instituting* Church Offices; *He* it is who gave, *Ephes. 4:11.* and set in the Church, *1 Cor. 12: v. 28.* Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Teachers, &c. And who is he that dare alter by addition or diminution? Ye will find *Him*, and not the civil Magistrat, *Authorizing* these Officers to Exerce the Several Acts of the Power of Order and Jurisdiction, *Mat. 28:19.* Ye will find *Him*, & not the civil Magistrat *Furnishing* these Church-Officers, with Gifts and Graces for their work; as none goeth here upon their own Expences, so can any Magistrat breath the Holy Ghost, as

Christ

Christ did upon his Apostles? *Job. 20: 22.* In *His* Name, and not in name of the Magistrate, must they performe all Church-Acts; they must Assemble, *Mat. 18: 20.* Baptise, *Mat. 28: 19.* Excommunicat, *1 Cor. 5. ver. 4.* and do all in *His* Name: *He*, and not the Magistrat, maketh Lawes Absolutely and Primarily obliging to the Church and Church Officers, and therefore is *He* called the *Lawgiver*, *Isai 33: 22.* *Iam. 4: 12.* *He*, and not the civil Magistrat, will call Church-Rulers to their final Account; An Account they must give, *Hebr. 13: 17.* & to whom but to Him that gave them Commission, and is *Judge*? *Isai. 33: 22.* And in recognition of all this, the Apostle *Paul* acknowledgeth that the Lord *Jesus*, and not the civil Magistrat, *Giveth Ministerial Power and Authority*, *2 Cor. 10: 8.* and *2 Cor. 13: 10.* And because of this, they are called the *Ministers of Christ*, *1 Cor. 4: 1.* and *Ambassadors for Christ*, *2 Cor. 5: 20.* and not of, or for the Magistrat, as now the King termeth the Prelats *Our Bishops*: *His* Servants they are, & therefore should not be Pleasers of Man, nor of the Magistrat, *Gal. 1: 10.* as they ought to be, if he gave them Commission: If the Magistrat, as *such*, be Head of the Church, and Fountain of Church Power and Government, I would gladly know, how or whence the Apostles, their Successors and others in the Ministry, had power to Teach or Govern the Church, when there was no Christian Magistrat to derive Power to them? Or whether they had any Power at all, or were but Usurpers? Or what the Church shall do for Power, when the Magistrat is Heathen, Antichristian, or a Woman, Child, a Fool, a Tyrant, or Heretick, &c. Shall the Church all this time want a Head? Or shall the Body of Christ, have a Pagan Head? Shall a Woman, who must not speak in the Church, be Head of the Church? shall a child or Idiot, who cannot Govern themselves, have the External Regulation of the Church? Or shall Cruel Tyrants, who oppress or destroy the Common-wealth,

wealth, and Bodies of men, have the Regulation of the Church, & of the Souls of men? We may then go to the Pope, the Turk, the wild Indian-Infidels and Savages, for a Head to the Church before She want; for whatever belongeth to one man, as a Magistrat, belongeth to all Magistrats: But we will hold us content with the Head, *Iesus Christ*, which the Father hath given us.

Now from this, that Church Power and Government are thus distinct from the Civil, and that *Iesus Christ* and not the Magistrat, is the Author and Fountain thereof, it evidently followeth, that it is not *Subordinat* to the Magistrat. It is true, that the Magistrat hath much Power Objectively Ecclesiasticall, and that Church Officers, as *Subjects*, are subject to him; yet Ecclesiastical Power it self, is not Properly Subordinat to the Civil. This will the more appear, not only because it is not Derived from the Magistrat, as the Head or Fountain thereof, nor is Exerced in his Name, but also if we consider, that Proper Subordination, is only in things flowing from the same Fountain, & of the same Nature, whereas civil and Ecclesiasticall Powers are neither from the same Immediat Fountain (if the one be from *Iehovah* Essentially considered, and as great Lord Creator and Gubernator of the World, the other from the Lord Redeemer, Head and King of his Church) nor yet are they of the same, but different Natures, as is said before: Again, if it were properly Subordinat to the civil Power, then the Magistrat himself, might Exerce all Ecclesiasticall Acts, in the Administration of Word and Sacraments, as well as of Jurisdiction; for as no reason can be adduced why He may Institute or Alter Church Government or Officers; or Exerce the External Regulation thereof, which will not by parity of strength inferre his Exercing Acts of Order; So, every Superior Power including all the Inferior. He may as well Exerce all Ecclesiastical Power, as civil, if the One be Subordinat to the Other: And further, the
Magi-

Magistrat himself, as a Christian, is but a Member of the Church, and Subject to Church-Government and Discipline, though it should not be practised, except for most weighty Causes, in great necessity, and with singular Prudence, and all due Respect and Reverence to Civil Authority, and the Person therewith vested: and accordingly many Magistrats have been censured: Yea in some cases, as if the Magistrat should unjustly forbid to Preach, Baptise, Ordain, Deprive, Excommunicat &c. the Church may Exerce Church Power without and against His consent, which She could not do, if it were Subordinat to him. I know there are many clamours of the Absurdity and Inconsistency of two Collateral and Co-Ordinat Supream Powers and Governments in one Kingdom; And indeed that Absurdity and Inconsistency may hold true, of two Supream Collaterall and Co-Ordinat Powers *eiusdem Generis*, but not in this case where they are *diversi generis*: Yea of their own Natures, they are so far from being hurtful, that being rightly manna- ged, they are singularly helpfull to one another: Neither can these two Powers and Governments in a Land, im- port now under the New Testament greater absurdity and Inconsistency, than under the Old, when the Jewes had their Ecclesiastical *Sanedrim*, as well as civil Courts for the affairs of the Common-wealth. Hence also it followeth, that as Ecclesiastical Power is not Subject to the civil; So, in matters Ecclesiastical, there should be no *Appellation* from the Church to the civil Magistrat: For though when Church Judicatories, without their sphere, meddle in civil Causes *as such*, or, for Ecclesiasti- cal offences, inflict civil Punishments, they may be De- clined as Judges Incompetent in the one case, & com- plaint of an unjust or Heterogeneous Sentence is lawful in the other; & though the Magistrat, before He add his Ratification, may require a Reason of Ecclesiastical proceedings, or, in case of an unjust Sentence, may desire

the Church to consider the matter again; & the Church is bound thus to give a Reason, or Consider the matter, especially in a degenerat or declining time of the Church, when more is permitted to the Faithful Magistrat, than otherwise; Yet there can be no Appellation from the Church to the Magistrat in Ecclesiastical causes & Sentences: Not only because all Appellations are from the Inferior to the Superior in *Eodem genere*, but the Church and State are not such, as is cleared before; but also because the Church is indued with Compleat Power of Cognoscing & Final determining Ecclesiastical affairs without dependance upon the State, and these Determinations being Just, the Lord hath promised to Ratify, *Mat. 18: 18.* And the Magistrat having no Formal Church Power, cannot pronounce Ecclesiastical Sentence, or make Redress by Himself, and so the Appellation is in vain. *Pauls* Appealing to *Cesar*, *Act. 25: 11.* will not help this weak cause; For *He* did not appeal in an Ecclesiastical cause, from an Ecclesiastical Court, to a Court of another Nature, but in a matter of alleaged Sedition, from *Festus* an Inferior Magistrat to *Cesar* the Supream. Neither is the Instance of *Jeremy* stronger than the former (*Ier. 26: 8, 9. &c.*) for there is no mention of His appealing from the Priests to the Magistrat, but of his Apology before the Princes, who came to hear the matter, and their Voluntary delivering him from the Unjust persecution of the Priests and Prophets, who were not competent Judges of Life and Death. Neither is the Exception of the Difference betwixt a Heathen and Christian Magistrat more Valid in this matter; for (besids all that is before said) in the Old Testament, the Government of the Church was committed to Church-Officers, even when the Magistrat was Religious, and why not in the New? The Government of the Church is not committed to them, *because*, the Magistrat is Heathen, or upon Temporary, but upon other Moral and Immutable grounds,

grounds, and therefore should not be taken from them when he becometh Christian: It is sure, that the Church had power given unto Her to Govern Herself, when the Magistrat was Heathen, now when and where is that Power Repealed? If Church Government belong to the Christian Magistrat, then it is either *as Magistrat* or *as Christian*, if *as Magistrat* or *as Christian*, then (according to the known maxime) it belongeth to Every Magistrat, and so to the Heathen, & to Every Christian, both which are false: Was the Magistrat no Magistrat or Incomplete, when (being Heathen) he did not meddle with Church Government? Or did the Church Usurp and Rob the Heathen Magistrat of that Power, in the Apostles dayes, & 2 or 300 years after? Shall the Church, by the promise of *Nursing Fathers*, have less Power and Priviledge, or be in worse Condition, by a Christian than Heathen Magistrat? And how vain is the Distinction of Outward Regulation of the Church, and Inward, (for that must be the other terme) for the Inward Regulation thereof belongs incontrovertibly to Jesus Christ, and if the Magistrat hath the Outward, what is left to the Church? These things, which, had they been formally digested, would have been more clear and convincing, are only thus confusedly and abruptly hinted: nor should I have said so much, if (besids the *Eraastian Spirit*, which more than ever doth now rage) some Parliamentary and Council Expressions, and agreeable practices, had not given occasion. Whether it be Primitive or not, let the Reader Judge, but sure I am, *the Kings Government of the Church and State; Charles, &c. Supream Governour in all causes as well Ecclesiastical as Civil; The Bishops serving the King in the Church*, is neither Scriptural nor Safe Dialect. Him they may serve, and Whether or How, Time will tell; but well know I, whom they do not serve in the Church; And indeed it is proper, that they who are there, only by the will of Man, should

should only serve Man. His Commissioners they are and accordingly *Sharp* hath deposed some Ministers by *Vertue of the Power which he hath from his Majesty*, and therefore they can expect no greater Assistance, Blessing or Reward than he can give; But yet there is a greater to whom they must give an Account. *

Having (beyond my first intention) detained Thee longer, than perhaps was Necessary, or will be Profitable or Pleasant, Thou may'st now speak with the *Devil*, which is of age, and able to answer for it self, if according to the Patience, Learning and Justice of many, thou do not Refute and condemn before thou know it, or brandish big words, as he who upon a Coronation day, offereth duel to all who question the Kings Right, when he knoweth, that (for *Major Vis*) none dare appear in the contrary. But in the passing take a word of the *National Covenant*, the *Solemn League and Covenant*, and *Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement unto Duties*, that at one view, thou may'st see *Scotland's Engagements and Breaches*, the Faithfulness of many, and flood of Sin and Suffering that hath overflowed the Land: Here is the *Terminus a Quo & ad Quem* of our Backsliding, whereof, though the most skilled Artift cannot pourtray to the life the whole body (the form is so monstrous and Complexion so strange) he may well darkly represent some Lineaments of fingers and toes, that the reader may know *Ex ungue leonem*; yet the Author hath nervously asserted the Truth, & drawn matters of Fact, with such True Colours, that he can only be accused for a Picture fairer than the live face of many Persons and Actions. To winde up all, be not discouraged upon the one hand, nor insult upon the other, by the Death of many Mighty men of God, Co workers & Eye-witnesses of his Work, within these few years past, and the stripling stature of many survivors, who have not attained unto the dayes of the years of the life of their Fathers, and

and (being but of yesterday) can know little of the Lords ancient kindness to the Land, except what their Fathers have told them: For as he hath reserved a numerous remnant of Holy, Learned, and Faithful men, a rich cluster wherein there is a blessing, & we have reason to bless Him, who gave not our Church dry breasts and a miscarrying womb; so he can make the barren bear seven, & become a Joyful mother of many Children, and as he hath work for them, will raise up both Shepherds and Principal men. It is true, alas! there is grown up a most degenerat Offspring of all Qualities, some whereof (& not the meanest) being as profane as *Machiavel*, who teacheth Rulers to keep promise and Oath no longer, than with pretended advantage they can break, and that it is a prejudice to be Really Religious, but not so honest as He, who notwithstanding affirmed a Necessity of *Seeming* to be Religious, which they are not, account no man to be a Man, who, by Whoring, Swearing, Drinking and Spending all or more than they have, do not class themselves into their new Profane Orders, and become as *Cartesian* in their Religion, by Atheistical doubtings and disputings about God, the Holy Scripture, Heaven, Hell, &c. as others are in their Philosophy. But there is an Advantage, that by Discovery, and distinguishing betwixt the precious and the vile, the Lord hath made this Defection contribute more to the Facility (as well as Necessity) of a future Purgation of the Church, than all her Judicatures could ever effectuat without it. And further, as he hath frustrated many chief Authors & Promoters thereof of their Hope and Designs; and called Nobles, Prelats and others to an account before they well tasted the expected sweetness, or were warm in their Places or Promotions; So though *Herod* and *Pilat* may agree against the Innocent, yet where men are like *Samsons* foxes, only tied together by the tail of common corrupt Principles, whilst their heads, of Self Interest and

and designs look different wayes, what such a Position, Conjunction & Aspect prognosticateth, let Scripture, Reason and Experience be consulted and they will tell. Let us not, in the mean time, mistake Gods Work, Wayes, Doings nor Intentions, neither be envious at evil doers, nor yet be Curious nor Anxious about futuritions, much less limit the Holy one to Means, Method or Time, but bear the Indignation of the Lord because we have sinned, till he plead our cause, waiting upon him who is God of Judgment, and waiteth that he may be gracious, and in patience possess our souls, for (though we do not) he knoweth his own thoughts toward us, it may be they are thoughts of peace, and not of evil, to give an expected end, and that (when he hath ripened Deliverance) he will bring us forth to the Light, and we shall behold his Righteousness. It is a crime of the highest nature with our Rulers, to complain or supplicate for redress, Others are either of deaf ears or feeble hands and cannot help. and seeing we can do no more for the Cause and Covenant of God, for our Mother Church, the Land, Our selves, Our Brethren and Posterity, let us open our cause to him who tryeth the Righteous. *O Lord Forgive, O Lord hearken and do. Deferre not for thine own sake, O my God; For thy City and thy People are called by thy Name, A MEN.*

The Testimony of
MR JAMES WOOD,
 Minister of the Gospel, and Professor of
 Theology in the University of *St Andrewes*,
 for Presbyterial Government.

I MR JAMES WOOD, being now shortly (by appearance) to render up my Spirit to the Lord, find my self obliged to leave a word behind me, for my just Vindication before the World. It hath been said of me, that I have (in word at least) refused from my wonted Zeal for Presbyterial Government, expressing my self concerning it, as if it were a matter not to be accounted of, and that no man should trouble himself in the matter and practice thereof. It is true, being under sickness, I have sometime said, I was taken up with weightier matters, than any external ordinance, & what wonder I said so? Being under such wrestling anent my interest in Jesus Christ, which is a matter of far greater concernment. Surely any Christian in this Church that knows me, will judge there is a wrong done to me: For since the day that the

Lord

Lord convinced my heart (which was by a strong hand) that it was the ordinance of God, appointed by Jesus Christ, for governing and ordering his visible Church, I never had the least change of thought, concerning the necessity of it, nor of the necessity of the use of it. And now I declare before God and the World, that I account so of it still: And that however there be some more precious ordinances, yet that this is so precious, that a true Christian is obliged to lay down his life for the profession thereof, if the Lord shall see it meet to put him to the trial. And for my self, if I were to live, I would account it my glory, to seal this word of my testimony with my blood. Of this my declaration, I take God, Angels and Men to be my witnesses, and have subscribed this presents with my hand, the 2. of March 1664. about 7. hours afternoon, before Mr William Tullidaf and Mr John Carstairs, my Brother in Law, and John Pitcarne writer thereof.

MR JAMES WOOD.

AS the Matter of this Testimony is very considerable, especially from so Great a man as Mr Wood was; So the occasion and consequents thereof are very observable, which were thus: Mr Sharp, having formerly been intimately familiar with Mr Wood, came to visite him under his Sickness (whereunto Sharps Apostacy had no small accession) and thereafter did falsely spread a report by word and writ, that Mr Wood had resiled from Presbyterian Government. Whereof when Mr Wood was informed, he was of new grievously affected and afflicted; thereupon, for his own Vindication, left this Testimony behind him. But Mr Sharp finding himself thereby made a publick lyar, (making lies still his refuge) pursueth Mr Wood being dead, as well as alive, with a new slander, alleaging his Testimony to be Fictitious, or Extorted from him, when, through distemper of his sickness, he knew not what he did, and thereupon caused summond the Witnesses, the Writer and some other persons before the High Commission: But the contrary of this was and is most Evident, not only because this Testimony

testimony was written and subscribed a considerable number of dayes before his Death, during which interval (as before) he was so composed, that he spake many gracious words about his own soul, Ordered his Civil affairs, and a famous Physician was not without hopes of his Recovery, But also because, hearing that some of his faithful Brethren and Co-Presbyters were in the town, he sent once and again for them, & before them, and some other Ministers at other times, purged himself of that unjust Imputation, and did bear witness for Presbyterian Government more fully and freely than is in the written Testimony, and some time thereafter, of his own accord did call for the Writer, and (there being none other present in the chamber at the beginning) did indite and cause him writ the same as it now is, without any Alteration; as also in a Letter written some considerable time before (inviting *Mr Castairs* to come and visit him) he had made mention of the Backsliding, Trials and Sufferings of the times, and expressed his desire to Live, that he might give a more free Testimony to the Truth. Notwithstanding all which, *Mr Sharp* (obstructing the reading of a Letter written by *Mr Castairs* to the *Chancelor*, containing & clearing the matter of fact) persisted with great Attestations before the *High Commission*, in his former false alliance, and Slandering, both of the Dead and the Living, and caused imprison the Writer and one of the witnesses, and forced the other (whom, for his eminent Parts, Holiness and Faithfulness, he most pursued) to a Retirement for his own safety. *What shall be given to Thee O Sharp! Or what shall be done to Thee; O false Tongue? Sharp arrows of the Mighty, Coals of Juniper.*

The National Covenant,

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The Confession of Faith of the Kirk of Scotland, subscribed at first by the Kings Majesty & his Houshold, in the year 1580. Thereafter, by persons of all ranks, in the year 1581. By ordinance of the Lords of the Secret Council, and Acts of the general Assembly. Subscribed againe by all sorts of Persons in the Year 1590. By a new Ordinance of Council, at the desire of the General Assembly: With a General Band for maintenance of the true Religion and the Kings Person. And now subscribed in the Year 1638. By Vs, Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgeses, Ministers, & Commons, then under subscribing: Together, with our resolution and promises for the causes after specified, To maintaine the said true Religion, and the Kings Majesty, according to the Confession foresaid, And Acts of Parliament. And now, upon the Supplication of the General Assembly to His Majesty's high Commissioner, and the Lords of his Majesty's Honorable Privy Council, subscribed again in the Year 1639. by Ordinance of Council, and act of General Assembly. The Tenor whereof here followeth.

WE All, and every one of Us underwritten, Protest, that, after long and due Examination of our owne Consciences, in matters of true and false Religion. We are now thoroughly resolved of the Truth, by the Word and Spirit of God; and therefore we believe with our hearts, confess with our mouths, subscribe with our hands, and constantly

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affirme before God, and the whole World, that this onely is the true Christian Faith and Religion, pleasing God, and bringing Salvation to man, which now is by the mercy of God revealed to the world, by the preaching of the blessed Evangel, and received, believed, and defended, by many and sundry notable Kirks and Realmes, but chiefly by the *Kirk of Scotland, the Kings Majesty, & three estates of this Realme*, as Gods eternal Truth, and onely ground of our Salvation: As more particularly is expressed in the Confession of our Faith, stablished, and publickly confirmed by sundry Acts of Parliament, and now of a long time hath beene openly professed by the Kings Majesty, and whole body of this Realme both in Burgh and Land. To the which Confession and forme of Religion, wee willingly agree in our consciences in all points, as unto Gods undoubted Truth and Verity, grounded onely upon his written Word. And therefore, we abhorre and detest all contrary Religion: and Doctrine: But chiefly, all kinde of Papistry, in general and particular heads, even as they are now damned and confuted by the *Word of God, & Kirk of Scotland*: But in special we detest and refuse the usurped authority of that Roman Antichrist upon the Scriptures of God, upon the Kirk, the civil Magistrate, and conscience of men, All his tyrannous lawes made upon indifferent things against our Christian liberty, His erroneous Doctrine against the sufficiency of the written Word, the perfection of the Law, the offices of Christ, and his blessed Evangel. His corrupted Doctrine concerning original sin, our natural inability and rebellion to Gods Law, our Justification by faith only, our imperfect Sanctification & obedience to the Law, the nature, number and use of the Holy Sacraments. His five bastard Sacraments, with all his Rites, Ceremonies, and false Doctrine added to the ministration of the true Sacraments, without the Word of God. His cruel judgement against Infants departing without the Sacrament: His absolute necessity of Baptisme: his blas-

blasphemous opinion of Transubstantiation, or real presence of Christs body in the Elements. and receiving of the same by the wicked, or bodies of men. His dispensations with solempne Oathes, Perjuries, and degrees of Marriage forbidden in the Word: His cruelty against the Innocent divorced: his devillish Masse: his blasphemous Priesthood: profane Sacrifice for the sinnes of the dead and the quick: his Canonization of men, calling upon Angels or Saints departed, worshipping of Imagery, Relicks, and Croffes, dedicating of Kirks, Altars, Dayes, Vowes to creatures; his Purgatory, Prayers for the dead, praying or speaking in a strange language, with his Processions & blasphemous Letany, and multitude of Advocates or Mediators: his manifold Orders, Auricular Confession: his desperate and uncertain Repentance; his general and doubtfull Faith, his satisfactions of men for their sinnes: his Justification by works, *opus operatum*, works of Supererogation, Merits, Pardons, Peregrinations, and Stations: his holy water, baptising of Bells, conjuring of Spirits, crossing, saning: anointing, conjuring, hallowing of Gods good creatres, with the superstitious opinion joyned therewith: his Wordly Monarchy, and wicked Hierarchy: his three solempne vowes, with all his shavelings of sundry sorts, his erroneous and bloodly decrees made at Trent, with all the subscribers and approvers of that cruel & bloody Band, conjured against the Kirk of God: and finaliy, wee detest all his vain Allegories, Rites, Signes and Traditions, brought into the Kirk, without or against the Word of God, and Doctrine of this true reformed Kirk, to the which we joyne our selves willingly, in Doctrine, Faith, Religion, Discipline, and use of the Holy Sacraments, as lively members of the same, in Christ our Head: promising and swearing by the *Great name of the Lord our God*, that we shall continue in the obedience of the Doctrine and Discipline of this Kirk, and shall defend the same according to our vocation and Power, all the dayes of our lives,

under the pains contained in the Law; and danger both of Body and Soul, in the day of Gods fearful Judgment; And seeing that many are stirred up by Sathan, and that Roman Antichrist, to promise, sweare, subscribe, and for a time use the holy Sacraments in the Kirk deceitfully against their own Consciences, minding thereby, first under the external cloak of Religion, to corrupt & subvert secretly Godstrue Religion within the Kirk, & afterward, when time may serve, to become open enemies and persecutors of the same, under vain hope of the Popes dispensation, devised against the Word of God, to his greater confusion, and their double condemnation in the day of the Lord Jesus.

Wee, therefore, willing to take away all suspicion of hypocrisy, and of such double dealing with God and his Kirk, Protest, and call *The Searcher of all hearts* for witness, that Our mindes and hearts, do fully agree with this our *Confession, Promise, Oath and Subscription*, so that Wee are not moved for any worldly respect, but are perswaded onely in our Consciences, through the knowledge and love of Gods true Religion, printed in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, as we shall answer to him in the day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed. And because we perceive that the quietness and stability of our Religion and Kirk, doth depend upon the safety & good behaviour of the Kings Majesty, as upon a comfortable Instrument of Gods mercy, granted to this Countrey, for the maintaining of this Kirk, and ministration of Justice amongst us, we protest and promise with our hearts under the same Oath, Handwrit, and Pains, that we shall defend his Person and Authority, with our goods, bodies and lives, in the defence of Christ his Evangel, Liberties of our Countrey, ministration of Justice, and punishment of iniquity, against all enemies within this Realm, or without, as we desire our God to be a strong and merciful defender to us in the day of our death, and coming of our Lord

Lord *Iesus Christ*: To whom with the Father, and the Holy Spirit, be all Honour and Glory Eternally.

Like as many Acts of Parliament not onely in general do abrogate, annul, and rescind all Lawes, Statutes, Acts, Constitutions, Canons, civil or municipal, with all other Ordinances and practique penalties whatsoever, made in prejudice of the true Religion and Professors thereof; Or, of the true Kirk-discipline, Jurisdiction, and freedome thereof; Or in favours of Idolatry and Superstition; Or of the Papistical Kirk: As *Act. 3. Act. 13. Parl. 1. Act 23. Parl. 11. Act 114 Parl. 12. of King James the Sixt.* That Papistray and Superstition may be utterly suppressed according to the intention of the Acts of Parliament repeated in the *5. Act. Parl 20. King James 6.* And to that end they ordain 'all Priests to be punished by manifold Civil and Ecclesiastical pains, as adversaries to Gods true Religion preached, and by Law established within this Realme, *Act. 24. Parl 11. King James 6.* as common enemies to all Christian government, *Act. 18. Parl 16. King James 6.* as rebellers and gainstanders of our Sovereign Lords Authority, *Act. 47 P. rl. 3. King James 6* and as Idolaters. *Act. 104. Parl. 7. King James 6.* but also in particular (by and attour the Confession of Faith) do abolish and condemne the the Popes Authority and Jurisdiction out of this Land, and ordain the maintainers thereof to be punished, *Act. 2. Parl 1. Act. 51. Parl. 3. Act 106. parl. 7. Act. 114, parl. 12. King James 6.* do condemne the Popes erroneous doctrine, or any other erroneous doctrine repugnant to any of the Articles of the true and Christian Religion publickly preached, and by Law established in this Realme: And ordaines the spreaders and makers of Books or Libels, or Letters, or writs of that nature to be punished, *Act 46. parl. 3. Act. 106. Parl. 7. Act. 24. parl. 11. King James 6.* do condemne all Baptisme conforme to the Popes Kirk and the Idolatry of the Masse, and ordaines all sayers, wilful hearers, and concealers of the Masse, the maintainers and refetters of

Priests, Jesuities, trafficking Papists, to be punished without any exception or restriction, *Act. 5. parl. 1. Act. 120. parl. 12. Act. 164. parl. 13. Act. 193 parl. 14 Act. 1. parl. 19. Act. 5. parl. 20. K. James 6.* do condemne all erroneous books and writes containing erroneous doctrine against the Religion presently professed, or containing superstitious Rites and Ceremonies Papistical, whereby the people are greatly abused, and ordaines the home-bringers of them to be punished, *Act. 25. parl. 11 K. James 6.* do condemne the monuments and dregs of by-gone Idolatry; as going to the Crosses, observing the Festival dayes of Saints, and such other superstitious and Papistical Rites, to the dishonour of God, contempt of true Religion, and fostering of great error among the people, and ordaines the users of them to be punished for the second fault as Idolaters, *Act. 104. parl. 7. King James 6.*

Like as many Acts of Parliament are conceived for maintenance of Gods true and Christian Religion, and the purity thereof in Doctrine and Sacraments of the Church of God, the liberty & freedom thereof, in her National, Synodall Assemblies, Presbyteries, Sessions, Policy, Discipline and Jurisdiction thereof, as that purity of Religion and liberty of the Church was used, professed, exercised, preached and confessed according to the reformation of Religion in this Realm. As for instance, *The 99. Act. parl. 7. Act. 23. Parl. 11. Act. 114. parl. 12. Act. 160. parl. 13 of King James 6. ratified by the 4. Act. of K Charles.* So that the 6 *Act. parl. 1. & 68. Act parl. 6. of K. James 6.* in the Yeare of God 1579 declares the Ministers of the blessed Evangel, whom God of his mercy had raised up, or hereafter should raise, agreeing with the that then lived in Doctrine, & Administration of the Sacraments, & the People that professed Christ, as he was then offered in the Evangel, & doth communicate with the Holy Sacraments, (as in the reformed Kirks of this Realm they were publickly administrat) according to the Confession of Faith, to be the true & Holy Kirk of Christ Jesus

within this Realme, & decerns & declares all & sundry,
 who either gainsayes the Word of the Evangel, received &
 approved, as the heads of the Confession of Faith, profes-
 sed in Parliament, in the Yeare of God 1560. specified also
 in the first Parliament, of King *James 6.* and ratified in this
 present Parliament, more particularly do specify; or that
 refuses the administration of the Holy Sacraments, as they
 were then ministrated, to be no members of the said Kirk
 within this Realme, and true Religion, presently profes-
 sed, so long as they keep themselves so divided from the
 society of Christs body: And the subsequent Act 69:
parl. 6. of King James 6. declares, That there is none other
 Face of Kirk, nor other Face of Religion, than was pre-
 sently at that time, by the favour of GOD established
 within this Realme, which therefore is ever stiled, *Gods*
true Religion, Christs true Religion, and Christian Religion, and
a perfect Religion. Which by manifold acts of Parliament,
 all within this Realme are bound to subscribe the articles
 thereof, the Confession of Faith, to recant all doctrine
 and errors. repugnant to any of the said Articles, Act. 4.
 and 9. *parl. 1. Act. 45, 46, 47. parl. 3. Act. 71. parl. 6.*
Act. 106. parl. 7. Act. 24. parl. 11. Act. 123. parliam 12.
Act. 194. and 197. parl. 14. of King James 6. And all Ma-
 gistrats, Sherifs, &c. on the one part are ordained to
 search, apprehend, and punish all contraveeners; For in-
 stance, Act. 5. *parl. 1. Act. 104 parl. 7. Act. 25. parl. 11.*
King James 6. And that notwithstanding of the Kings Ma-
 jesty's licences on the contrary, which are discharged and
 declared to be of no force, in so farre as they tend in any
 wayes, to the prejudice & hinderance of the execution of
 the Acts of Parliament against Papists & adversaries of true
 Religion, Act. 106. *parl. 7. King James 6.* On the other
 part, in the 47. Act. *parl. 3. King James 6.* It is declared and
 ordained, seeing the cause of Gods true Religion, and his
 Highness Authority are so joyned, as the hurt of the one is
 common to both: and that none shall be reputed as loyal

and faithful subjects to our Sovereign Lord, or his Authority, but be punishable as rebellers and gainstanders of the same, who shall not give their Confession, and make their profession of the said true Religion, and that they, who after defection, shall give the Confession of their Faith of new, they shall promise to continue therein in time coming, to maintain our Sovereigne Lords Authority, and at the uttermost of their power to fortify, assist, and maintain the true Preachers and Professors of Christs Evangel, against whatsoever enemies and gainstanders of the same, and namely (against all such and whatsoever Nation, Estate, or degree they be of) that have joynd, and bound themselves, or have assisted, or assists to set forward, and execute the cruel Decrees of *Trent.* contrary to the Preachers and true Professors of the Word of God, which is repeated word by word in the Article of Pacification at *Perth* the 23 of *February* 572. approved by Parliament the last *April* 1573 Ratified in Parliament 1587. and related, *Act. 123. parl. 12. of King James 6.* with this addition, that they are bound to resist all treasonable uproars & hostilities raised against the true Religion, the Kings Majesty, and the true Professors.

Like as all Liedges are bound to maintain the Kings Majesty's Royal Person, and Authority, and authority of Parliaments, without the which neither any lawes or lawfull judicatories can be established, *Act. 130. Act. 131 parl. 8. King James 6.* and the subjects Liberties, who ought onely to live and be governed by the Kings Lawes, the common Lawes of this Realme allanerly, *Act. 48. parl. 3 King James the first, Act. 79. parl. 6. King James the 4. repeated in the Act. 131. parl. 8. King James 6.* Which, if they be innovated or prejudged, the commission anent the union of the two Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *England*, which is the sole *Act. of the 17. parl. of King James 6.* declares such confusion would ensue, as this Realme could be no more a free Monarchy, because by the fundamental lawes,
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ancient privileges, offices and liberties of this Kingdome, not onely the Princely Authority of his Majesty's Royal discent hath been these many ages maintained, but also the peoples security of their Lands, livings, rights, offices, liberties, and dignities preserved, and therefore for the preservation of the said true Religion, Lawes, and Liberties of this Kingdome, it is statute by the 8. Act. *parl. 1. repeated in the 99. Act. parl. 7. ratified in the 23. Act. parl. 11. und 114. Act. parl. 12: of King James 5. and 4. Act. of King Charles.* That all Kings and Princes at their Coronation ad reception of their Princely Authority, shall make their faithful promise by their solemn Oath in the presence of the eternal God, that, during the whole time of their lives, they shall serve the same Eternal God to the uttermost of their power, according as he hath required in his most Holy Word, contained in the Old and New Testament. And according to the same Word, shall maintain the true Religion of Christ Jesus, the preaching of his Holy Word, the due and right ministration of the Sacraments now received and preached within this Realme (according to the Confession of Faith immediately preceeding) and shall abolish and gainstand all false Religion contrary to the same, and shall rule the people committed to their charge, according to the will and command of God, revealed in his foresaid Word, and according to the laudable Lawes and Constitutions received in this Realme, no wayes repugnant to the said will of the Eternal God; and shall procure, to the uttermost of their power, to the Kirk of God, and whole Christian people, true and perfect peace in all time coming: & that they shall be careful to root out of their Empire all Hereticks, and enemies to the true Worship of God, who shall be convicted by the true Kirk of God, of the foresaid crimes, which was also observed by his Majesty, at his Coronation in *Edinburgh 1633.* as may be seen in the order of the Coronation.

In obedience to the Commandment of God, conforme to the practice of the godly in former times, and according to the laudable example of our Worthy and Religious Progenitors. & of many yet living amongst us, which was warranted also by act of *Councill*, commanding a general band to be made and subscribed by his Majesty's subjects, of all ranks, for two causes: One was, For defending the true Religion, as it was then reformed, and is expressed in the Confession of Faith abovewritten, and a former large Confession established by sundry acts of lawful general assemblies, and of Parliaments, unto which it hath relation, set down in publick Catechismes, and which had been for many years with a blessing from Heaven preached, & professed in this Kirk and kingdome, as Gods undoubted truth, grounded only upon his written Word. The other cause was, for maintaining the Kings Majesty, His Person, and Estate: The true worship of God, and the Kings authority, being so straitly joyned, as that they had the same Friends, and common enemies, & did stand and fall together. And finally, being convinced in our mindes, and confessing with our mouthes, that the present and succeeding generations in this Land, are bound to keep the foresaid national Oath and Subscription inviolable. Wee Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgesse, Ministers and Commons under subscribing, considering divers times before and especially at this time, the danger of the true reformed Religion, of the Kings honour, and of the publick peace of the Kingdome: By the manifold innovations and evils generally contained, and particularly mentioned in our late supplications, complaints, and protestations, Do hereby profess, and before God, his Angels, and the World solemnly declare, That, with our whole hearts we agree and resolve, all the dayes of our life, constantly to adhere unto, and to defend the foresaid true Religion, and (forbearing the practice of all novations already introduced in the matter of the

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worship of God, or approbation of the corruptions of the
publicke Government of the Kirk, or civil places and
power of Kirk men, till they be tryed and allowed in free
Assemblies, and in Parliaments) to labour by all meanes
lawful to recover the purity and liberty of the Gospel, as it
was stablished and professed before the foresaid Novations:
and because, after due examination, we plainly perceive,
and undoubtedly believe, that the Innovations and evils
contained in our Supplications, Complaints, and Prote-
stations have no warrant of the Word of God, are contra-
ry to the Articles of the Foresaid Confessions, to the in-
tention & meaning of the blessed Reformers of Religion in
this Land, to the above written Acts of Parliament, and
do sensible tend to the re-establishing of the Popish Reli-
gion and Tyranny, and to the subversion and ruine of the
true Reformed Religion, and of our Liberties, Lawes and
Estates, We also declare, that the Foresaid Confessions
are to be interpreted, and ought to be understood of the
Foresaid novations and evils, no lesse than if every one of
them had been expressed in the Foresaid confessions, and
that we are obliged to detest and abhorre them amongst
other particular heads of Papistry abjured therein. And
therefore from the knowledge and consciences of our duty
to God, to our King and Countrey, without any worldly
respect or inducement, so farre as humane infirmity will
suffer, wishing a further measure of the grace of God for
this effect, We promise, and swear by the *Great Name of*
the Lord our God, to continue in the Profession and Obedi-
ence of the Foresaid Religion: That we shall defend the
same, and resist all these contrary errors and corruptions,
according to our vocation, and to the uttermost of that
power that God hath put in our hands, all the dayes of our
life: and in like manner with the same heart, we declare
before God and Men, That we have no intention nor de-
sire to attempt any thing that may turne to the dishonour of
God, or to the diminution of the Kings greatnesse and au-
thori-

thority: But on the contrary, we promise and sweare
 that we shall, to the uttermost of our power, with our
 meanes and lives, stand to the defence of our dread Sovereign
 the Kings Majesty, his Person, and Authority, in
 the defence and preservation of the foresaid true Religion,
 on, Liberties and Lawes of the Kingdome: As also to that
 mutual defence and assistance, every one of us of another
 in the same cause of maintaining the true Religion, and our
 Majesty's Authority, with our best counsel, our bodies, our
 meanes, and whole power, against all sorts of persons, and
 whatsoever. So that whatsoever shall be done to the least
 of us for that cause, shall be taken as done to us all in gene-
 ral, and to every one of us in particular. And that we
 shall neither directly nor indirectly suffer our selves to be
 divided or withdrawn by whatsoever suggestion, allure-
 ment, or terrour from this blessed and loyal Conjunction,
 nor shall cast in any let or impediment, that may stay or
 hinder any such resolution, as by common consent shall be
 found to conduce for so good ends. But on the contrary,
 we shall by all lawful meanes labour to further and promote
 the same, and if any such dangerous and divisive motion
 be made to us by Word or Writ, We, and every one of
 us, shall either suppress it, or if need be shall incontinently
 make the same known, that it may be timeously obviated,
 neither do we fear the foul aspersions of rebellion, combi-
 nation, or what else our adversaries from their craft and
 malice would put upon us, seeing what we do is so well
 warranted, and ariseth from an unfeined desire to main-
 tain the true worship of God, the Majesty of our King,
 and peace of the Kingdome, for the common happiness
 of our selves, and the posterity. And because we cannot
 look for a blessing from God upon our proceedings, ex-
 cept with our Profession and Subscription we joine such a
 life and conversation, as becometh Christians, who have
 renewed their Covenant with God; We, therefore, faith-
 fully promise for our selves, our followers, and all other
 under

we under us, both in publick, in our particular families, and
 with personal carriage, to endeavour to keep our selves within
 the bounds of Christian liberty, and to be good examples
 to others of all Godlines, Soberness, and Righteous-
 nesses, and of every duty we ow to God and Man, And
 that this our Union and Conjunction may be observed with-
 out violation, we call the living God, the Searcher of
 our Hearts to witness, who knoweth this to be our sincere
 Desire, and unfained Resolution, as we shall answer to
 Jesus Christ, in the great day, and under the pain of Gods
 everlasting wrath, and of infamy, and loss of all honour
 and respect in this World, Most humbly beseeching the
 Lord to strengthen us by his holy Spirit for this end, and
 to bleesse our desires and proceedings with a happy success,
 that Religion and Righteousness may flourish in the Land,
 to the glory of God, the honour of the King, and peace and
 comfort of us all. In witness whereof we have subscribed
 with our hands all the premisses, &c.

This Article of the Covenant, which was at the first Sub-
 scription, referred to the determination of the General As-
 sembly, being determined, and thereby the 5. Articles of
 Perth, the Government of the Kirk by Bishops, the Civil
 places & Power of kirkmen, upon the reasons & grounds
 contained in the Acts of the General Assembly, declared to
 be unlawful within this Kirk, we subscribe according to
 the determination foresaid.

A Solemn League and Covenant.

For Reformation, and Defence of Religion

*The Honour and Happineß of the King, and
Peace and Safety of the three Kingdoms of Scotland
England and Ireland.*

WE Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgesſes, Miniſters of the Goſpel, and Commiſſioners of all ſorts in the Kingdoms of Scotland, England and Ireland, by the providence of God living under one King, and becomers of one reformed religion, Having before our eyes the glory of God, and the advancement of the Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, the Honour and Happineſſe of the Kings Majeſty and his Poſterity, and the true public Liberty, Safety, and Peace of the Kingdoms, whereunto every ones private condition is included; And calling to minde the treacherous and bloody Plots, conſpiracies, Attempts and Practices of the Enemies of God againſt the true Religion and Profeſſours thereof in all places, eſpecially in theſe three Kingdoms, ever ſince the Reformation of Religion, and how much their rage, power and preſumption are of late, and at this time increaſed and exerciſed; whereof the deplorable eſtate of the Church and Kingdom of Ireland, the diſtreſſed eſtate of the Church & Kingdom of England, and the dangerous eſtate of the Church and Kingdom of Scotland are preſent and publick teſtimonies: We have now at laſt (after other means Supplication; Remonſtrance, Proteſtation and Suffering for the preſervation of our ſelves and our Religion from utter ruine and deſtruction, according to the commendable practice of theſe Kingdoms in former times, and exam-

example of Gods People in other Nations, after mature
deliberation, resolved and determined to enter into a mu-
tual and solemn League and Covenant: Wherein we all
subscribe, and each one of us for himself, with our hands
lifted up to the most high God, do Swear,

1. That we shall sincerely, really & constantly, through
the grace of God, endeavour in our several places and cal-
lings, the preservation of the Reformed Religion in the
Church of Scotland, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline
and Government, against our common Enemies; The
Reformation of Religion in the Kingdoms of England and
Ireland in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Govern-
ment, according to the Word of God, and the example of
the best Reformed Churches; And shall endeavour to bring
the Churches of God in the three Kingdoms, to the nearest
conjunction and Uniformity in Religion, Confession of
Faith, Form of Church - government, Directory for
Worship and Catechizing; That we and our Posterity after
us, may, as Brethren, live in Faith and Love, and the
Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us,

2. That we shall in like manner, without respect of
persons, endeavour the Extirpation of Popery, Prelacy
(that is, Church - government by Arch - bishops, Bis-
hops, their Chancellours and Commissaries, Deans, Deans
and Chapters, Arch-deacons, and all other Ecclesiastical
Officers depending on that Hierarchy) Superstition, Here-
sy, Schism, Prophaness, and whatsoever shall be
found to be contrary to sound Doctrine, and the power of
Godliness; Lest we partake in other mens sins, and there-
by be in danger to receive of their plagues; & that the Lord
may be one, and his Name one in the three Kingdoms.

3. We shall with the same sincerity, reality and constan-
cy, in our several vocations, endeavour with our estates
and lives mutually to preserve the Rights and Priviledges
of the Parliaments, and the Liberties of the Kingdom; &
to preserve and defend the Kings Majesty's Person and Au-
thority.

thority, in the preservation and defence of the true Religion; and Liberties of the Kingdoms; That the World may bear witness with our consciences of our Loyalty and that we have no thoughts or intention to diminish his Majesty's just power and greatness.

4. We shall also with all faithfulness endeavour the discovery of all such as have been, or shall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil instruments, by hindering the Reformation of Religion, dividing the King from his people; or one of the Kingdoms from another, or making any faction, or parties amongst the people contrary to this League and Covenant. That they may be brought to publick trial, and receive condigne punishment, as the degree of their offences shall require or deserve, or the Supream Judicatories or both Kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient.

5. And whereas the happiness of a blessed Peace between these Kingdoms, denyed in former times to our Progenitors, is by the good Providence of GOD granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded, and serled by both Parliaments, We shall each one of us, according to our place and interest, endeavour that they may remain conjoynd in a firme Peace and Union to all Posterity, And that justice may be done upon the wilfull Opposers thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent Article.

6. We shall also according to our places and callings in this Common cause of Religion, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdoms, assist and defend all those that enter into this League and Covenant, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof; And shall not suffer our selves directly or indirectly by whatsoever combination, perswasion or terrour, to be divided and withdrawn from this blessed Union and conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give our selves to a detestable indifferency or neutrality in this cause, which so much concerneth

concerneth the Glory of God, the good of the Kingdoms, and honour of the King: But shall all the dayes of our lives zealously & constantly continue therein, against all opposition, and promote the same according to our power, against all Lets and Impediments whatsoever; And, what we are not able our selves to suppress or overcome, we shall reveale and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed: All which we shall do as in the sight of God.

And, because these Kingdoms are guilty of many sins and provocations against God, and his Son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our present distress and dangers, the fruits thereof; We profess and declare before God, and the world, unfained desire to be humbled for our own sins, and for the sins of these Kingdoms, especially that we have not, as we ought, valued the inestimable benefit of the Gospel, that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof, and that we have not endeavoured to receive Christ in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our lives, which are the causes of other sins and transgressions so much abounding amongst us; And our true and unfained purpose, desire, and endeavour for our selves, and all others under our power & charge, both in publick and in private, in all duties we ow to God and man, to amend our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a real Reformation; That the Lord may turn away his wrath, & heavy indignation, and establish these Churches and Kingdoms in truth and Peace. And this Covenant we make in the presence of Almighty God the Searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, As we shall answer at that great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed; Most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by his Holy Spirit for this end, and to bless our desires, and proceedings with such success, as may be deliverance and safety to his people, and encouragement to

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other Christian Churches groaning under, or in danger of the yoke of Antichristian Tyranny, or tojoyn in the same or like Association and Covenant, To the Glory of God, the enlargement of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquillity of Christian Kingdoms, and Commonwealths.

A Solemn Acknowledgement of publick Sins and Breaches of the Covenant ;

A N D

*A Solemn Engagement to all the Duties
contained therein, namely those which do in a more
special way relate unto the dangers of these times :
Anno 1648.*

WE Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgessees, Ministers of the Gospel, and Commons of all sorts within this Kingdom, by the good hand of God upon us, taking into serious consideration the many sad afflictions & deep distresses, wherewith we have been exercised for a long time past, and that the Land, after it hath been fore wasted with the Sword and Pestilence, and threatened with Famine, and that shame & contempt hath been poured out from the Lord against many thousands of our Nation, who did in a sinful way make War upon the Kingdom of England, contrary to the Testimony of his Servants and desires of his People, and that the remnant of that Army returning to this Land, have spoiled and oppressed many of our Brethren, and that the Malignant party is still numerous, and retaining their former principles, wait for an opportunity to raise a new and dangerous War, not only unto the rending of the bowels of this Kingdom, but unto the dividing of us from England,
and

and overturning of the work of God in all the three Kingdoms: And considering also that a cloud of calamities doth still hang over our heads, and threaten us with sad things to come, We cannot but look upon these things as from the Lord, who is righteous in all his wayes, feeding us with the bread of tears, & making us to drink the waters of affliction, until we be taught to know how evil and bitter a thing it is to depart away from him; by breaking the Oath and Covenant which we have made with him, and that we may be humbled before him by confessing our sin, and forsaking the evil of our way.

Therefore being pressed with so great necessities and straits, and warranted by the word of God, and having the example of Gods people of old, who in the time of their troubles, and when they were to seek delivery and a right way for themselves, that the Lord might be with them to prosper them, did humble themselves before him, and make a free and particular confession of the sins of their Princes, their Rulers, their Captains, their Priests and their people, and did engage themselves to do no more so, but to reform their wayes and be stedfast in his Covenant, And remembring the practice of our predecessors in the year 1596. Wherein the General Assembly, and all the Kirk Judicatories, with the concurrence of many of the Nobility, Gentry, and Burgeses, did with many tears acknowledge before God the breach of the National Covenant, and engaged themselves to a Reformation, even as our predecessors and theirs had before done in the General Assembly and convention of Estates in the year 1567. And perceiving that this duty, when gone about out of conscience and in sincerity, hath alwayes been attended with a reviving out of troubles, and with a blessing and success from Heaven; We do humbly and sincerely in his sight, who is the searcher of hearts, acknowledge the many sins and great transgressions

of the Land, We have done wickedly, our Kings, our Princes, our Nobles, our Judges, our Officers, our Teachers, and our People: Albeit the Lord hath long and clearly spoken unto us, we have not hearkened to his voice; Albeit he hath followed us with tender mercies, we have not been allured to wait upon him and walk in his way; And though he hath stricken us, yet we have not grieved; Nay though he hath stricken us, we have refused to receive correction; We have not remembered to render unto the Lord according to his goodness, and according to our own vows & promises, but have gone away backward by a continued course of backsliding, and have broken all the Articles of that solemn League and Covenant which we swore before God, Angels and men.

Albeit there be in the land many of all ranks, who be for a Testimony unto the Truth, and for a name of joy and praise unto the Lord, by living godly, studying to keep their garments pure, and being stedfast in the Covenant and Cause of God; Yet we have reason to acknowledge that most of us have not endeavoured with that reality, sincerity and constancy, that did become us, to preserve the work of Reformation in the Kirk of Scotland; Many have satisfied themselves with the purity of the Ordinances neglecting the power thereof; Yea, some have turned aside to crooked wayes destructive to both. The prophane, loose and insolent carriage of many in our Armies, who went to the Assistance of our Brethren in England, And the tamperings and unstraight dealing of some of our Commissioners, and others of our Nation in London, the Isle of *Wight*, and other places of that Kingdom, have proved great lets to the work of Reformation, and settling of Kirk Government there, whereby Errour and Schism in that Land have been encreased, and Sectaries hardened in their way. We have been so far from endeavouring the extirpation of Prophaneess, and what is con-

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trary to the power of godliness, that prophanity hath been much winked at, & Prophane persons much countenanced and many times employed, until iniquity and ungodliness hath gone over the face of the land as a flood; Nay, sufficient care hath not been had to separate betwixt the precious and the vile, by debarring from the Sacrament all ignorant and scandalous persons according to the Ordinances of this Kirk.

Neither have the Priviledges of the Parliaments and Liberties of the Subject been duly tendered, but some amongst our selves have laboured to put into the hands of our King an arbitrary and unlimited power destructive to both, and many of us have been accessory of late to those means and wayes, whereby the freedom and priviledges of Parliaments have been encroached upon, and the Subjects oppressed in their consciences, persons and Estates: Neither hath it been our care to avoid these things which might harden the King in his evil way; But upon the contrary he hath not onely been permitted, but many of us have been instrumental to make him exercise his power in many things tending to the prejudice of Religion and the Covenant, and of the peace & safety of these Kingdoms; Which is so farre from the right way of preserving his Majesty's Person and Authority, that it cannot but provoke the Lord against him, unto the hazard of both; Nay under a pretence of relieving and doing for the King, whilst he refuses to do what was necessary for the house of God, some have ranversed and violated most of all the Articles of the Covenant.

Our own Consciences within, and Gods judgements upon us without do convince us, of the manifold willfull renewed breaches of that Article, which concerneth the discovery and punishment of Malignants, whose crimes have not only been connived at, but dispensed with and pardoned, and themselves received unto intimate fellowship with our selves, and intrusted with our

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Counsels, admitted unto our Parliaments, and put in places of Power and Authority, for managing the publick affaires of the Kingdome, whereby in Gods justice they got at last into their hands the whole power and strength of the Kingdome, both in judicatories and Armies, and did imploy the same unto the enacting and prosecuting an unlawful Engagement in warre against the Kingdom of *England*, notwithstanding of the dissent of many considerable Members of Parliament, who had given constant proof of their integrity in the cause from the beginning, of many faithful testimonies and free warnings of the servants of God, of the Snpplications of many Synods, Presbyteries and Shyres, and of the Declarations of the General Assembly and their Commissioners to the contrary: Which engagement, as it hath been the cause of much sin, so also of much misery and calamity unto this Land, and holds forth to us, the grievousness of our sin of complying with Malignants, in the greatness of our judgement, that we may be taught never to split again upon the same rock, upon which the Lord hath set so remarkeable a Beacon. And after all that is come to pass unto us because of this our trespass, and after that grace hath been shewed unto us from the Lord our God, by breaking these mens yoke from of our necks, and putting us again into a capacity to act for the good of Religion, our own safety, and the peace and safety of this Kingdom, should we again break his Commandment and Covenant, by joyning once more with the people of these abominations, and taking into our bosome those Serpents which had formerly stung us almost unto death? This as it would argue great madness and folly upon our part, so no doubt; if it be not avoided, will provoke the Lord against us to consume us, until there be no remnant nor escaping in the Land.

And albeit the Peace & Union betwixt the Kingdoms be a great blessing of God unto both and a Bond which we

we are obliged to preserve unviolated, and to endeavour that justice may be done upon the opposers thereof; Yet some in this Land, who have come under the Bond of the Covenant, have made it their great study how to dissolve this Union, and few or no endeavours have been used by any of us for punishing of such.

We have suffered many of our Brethren in several parts of the Land to be oppressed of the common Enemy without compassion or relief; There hath been great murmuring and repining because of expence of means and pains in doing of our duty; Many by perswasion or terror have suffered themselves to be divided and withdrawn to make defection to the contrary part; Many have turned off to a detestable indifferency and neutrality in this cause, which so much concerneth the glory of God and the good of these Kingdoms; Nay many have made it their study to walk so, as they might comply with all times and all the revolutions thereof. It hath not been our care to countenance, encourage, intrust and employ such onely, as from their hearts did affect and mind Gods work; But the hearts of such many times have been discouraged, & their hands weakened, their sufferings neglected, and themselves slighted, and many who were once open enemies, & alwayes secret underminers countenanced, & employed; Nay even those who had been looked upon as incendiaries, and upon whom the Lord had set marks of desperate Malignancy, falshood and deceit, were brought in, as fit to manage publick affaires; Many have been the lets and impediments that have been cast in the way, to retard and obstruct the Lords work, and some have kept secret, what of themselves they were not able to suppress and overcome.

Besides these and many other breaches of the Articles of the Covenant in the matter thereof, which it concerneth every one of us to search out and acknowledge before the Lord, as we would wish his wrath to be turned

away from us ; So have many of us failed exceedingly in the manner of our following and pursuing the duties contained therein , not onely seeking great things for our selves , and mixing of private interests and ends concerning our selves and friends and followers , with those things which concern the publick good , but many times preferring such to the honour of God and good of his cause , and retarding Gods work , until we might carry alongs with us our own interests and designs . It hath been our way to trust in the means , and to rely upon the arm of flesh for success , albeit the Lord hath many times made us meet with disappointment therein , & stained the pride of all our Glory , by blasting every carnal confidence unto us : We have followed for the most part the counsels of flesh and blood , and walked more by the rules of policy , then piety , and have hearkened more unto men than unto God .

Albeit we made solemn publick profession before the World of our unfained desires to be humbled before the Lord for our own sinnes , and the sinnes of these Kingdoms , especially for our undervaluing of the inestimable benefit of the Gospel , and that we have not laboured for the power thereof , and received Christ into our hearts , and walked worthy of him in our lives , and of our true and unfained purpose , desire and endeavour for our selves , and all other under our power and charge both in publick and private , in all duties which we ow to God and man to amend our lives , and each one to go before another in the example of a real Reformation , that the Lord might turn away his wrath and heavy indignation , and establish these Kirks and Kingdoms in truth & peace , Yet we have refused to be reformed , and have walked proudly and obstinately against the Lord , not valuing his Gospel , nor submitting ourselves unto the obedience thereof , nor seeking after Christ , nor studying to honour him in the excellency of his person , nor employ-

ing him in the vertue of his Offices, not making conscience of publick Ordinances, nor of private nor secret duties, nor studying to edify one another in love. The ignorance of God and of his Son Jesus Christ prevailes exceedingly in the Land; The greatest part of Masters of families amongst Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgeses and Commons neglect to seek God in their families, and to endeavour the Reformation thereof; And albeit it hath been much pressed, yet few of our Nobles and great ones ever to his day could be perswaded to perform family duties themselves and in their own persons; which makes so necessary and useful a duty to be misregarded by others of inferior rank; Nay many of the Nobility, Gentry, and Burrows, who should have been examples of Godliness & sober walking unto others, have been ring-leaders of excess and rioting. Albeit we be the Lords people engaged to him in a solemn way, yet to this day we have not made it our study, that judicatories and Armies should consist of, and places of power and trust be filled with men of a blameless and Christian conversation, and of known integrity, and approven fidelity, affection and Zeal unto the cause of God, but not onely those who have been neutral & indifferent but disaffected & Malignant, and others who have been prophane and scandalous have been intrusted; By which it hath come to pass that judicatories have been the seats of injustice and iniquity, and many in our Armies by their miscarriages have become our plague, unto the great prejudice of the cause of God, the great scandal of the Gospel, and the great increase of looseness and prophanity throughout all the Land. It were impossible to reckon up all the abominations that are in the Land, but the Blaspheming of the name of God, swearing by the Creatures, prophana-tion of the Lords Day, uncleanness, drunkenness, excess and rioting, vanity of apparel, lying and deceit, railing and cursing, arbitrary and uncontrolled oppression, and

grin-

grinding of the faces of the poor, by Landlords & others in place and power, are become ordinary and common sinnes; And besides all these things, there be many other transgressions, whereof the Land wherein we live is guilty: All which we desire to acknowledge and to be humbled for, that the world may bear witness with us that Righteousness belongeth unto God, and shame and confusion of face unto us as appears this day.

And because it is needful for these who find mercy not onely to confess but also to forsake their sin, Therefore that the reality and sincerity of our repentance may appear, We do Resolve and solemnly ingage our selves before the Lord, carefully to avoid for the time to come all these offences, whereof we have now made solemn publick acknowledgement, and all the snares and temptations which tend thereunto: And to testifie the integrity of our resolution herein, and that we may be the better enabled in the power of the Lords strength to perform the same, We do again Renew our Solemn League and Covenant, Promising hereafter to make conscience of all the duties whereunto we are obliged, in all the heads and Articles thereof, particularly of these which follow.

1. Because Religion is of all things the most excellent and precious, The advancing and promoting the power thereof against all ungodliness and profanity, The securing and preserving the purity thereof against all error, heresy and schisme, and namely *Independency, Anabaptisme, Antinomianism, Arminianisme, Socinianisme, Familisme, Libertinisme, Scepticisme, and Erastianisme*, and the carrying on the work of uniformity shall be studied and endeavoured by us before all worldly interests, whether concerning the King or our selves, or any other whatsoever. 2: Because many have of late laboured to supplant the liberties of the Kirk, we shall maintain and defend the Kirk of *Scotland*, in all her liberties and priviledges, against all who shall oppose or undermine the

the same, or encroach thereupon under any pretext whatsoever. 3. We shall vindicate and maintain the liberties of the Subjects, in all these things which concern their consciences, persons and Estates. 4. We shall carefully maintain and defend the Union betwixt the Kingdoms, and avoid every thing that may weaken the same, or involve us in any measure of accession unto the guilt of those who have invaded the Kingdom of England. 5. As we have been alwayes Loyall to our King, so we shall still endeavour to give unto God that which is Gods, and to Caesar the things which are Caesars. 6. We shall be so farre from conniving at, complying with, or countenancing of Malignancy, injustice, iniquity, prophanity and impiety, that we shall not onely avoid, and discontinue those things, and cherish and encourage those persons, who are zealous for the Cause of God, and walk according to the Gospel; But also shall take a more effectuall course than heretofore in our respective Places and Callings, for punishing and suppressing these evils, and faithfully endeavour that the best and fittest remedies may be applyed, for taking away the causes thereof, and advancing the knowledge of God, and Holiness and Righteousness in the Land: & therefore in the last place, as we shall earnestly pray unto God that he would give us *able men fearing God, men of truth and hating covetousness* to judge and bear charge among his people, so we shall according to our Places and Callings. Endeavour that Judicatories and all places of power and trust both in Kirk and State may consist of, and be filled with such men as are of known good affection to the cause of God, and of a blameless and Christian conversation.

And because there be many, who heretofore have not made conscience of the oath of God, but some through fear, others by perswasion and upon base ends and humane interests have entered thereinto, who have afterwards discovered themselves to have dealt deceitfully with

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with the Lord, in swearing falsely by his name, Therefore we, who do now renew our Covenant in reference to these duties, and all other duties contained therein, Do in the sight of him who is the searcher of hearts, solemnly Profess, that it is not upon any politique advantage or private interst, or by end, or because of any terror or perswasion from men. or hypocritically and deceitfully, that we do again take upon us the oath of God, But honestly and sincerely and from the sense of our duty, And that therefore denying our selves and our own things, and laying aside all self interest and ends, We shall above all things seek the honour of God, the good of his Cause and the wealth of his people, and that forsaking the counsels of flesh and blood, and not leaning upon carnal confidences, we shall depend upon the Lord, walk by the rule of his word, and hearken to the voice of his servants: In all which professing our own weakness, We do earnestly pray to God, who is the father of mercies through his Son Jesus Christ, to be merciful unto us, and to enable us by the power of his might, that we may do our duty unto the praise of his Grace in the Churches.

A M E N.

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The occasion of this *Acknowledgement* and *Engagement* was this.

THE Commission of the General Assembly 1648. considering the many breaches of the *Solemn League and Covenant* (and particularly by the Engagement in War that Year against *England*) The Slackness of many in following the duties therein, And that many, (being under age when it was first sworn) had not been received into the same, did, by their *Act October 6.* ordain it to be renewed with this *Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins* and breaches, and *Engagement to duties*, And to that effect appointed two solemn Fasts to be kept in all the Congregations of the Land, for the Causes contained in the *Acknowledgment of Sins*, And that intimation thereof should be made to the people upon the Sabbath before, and that the *Covenant*, together with the former *Acknowledgment of Sins* and *Engagement to duties*, should be read publickly to the People, upon the day of the Intimation, and the last Fast day when the *Covenant* was to be sworn. The resolution of the *Commission*, upon the same grounds was unanimously approved by the *Committee of Estates* then sitting, and by their *Act October 14.* Ordained to be put in Execution, in all things according to the directions of the *Commission*: And accordingly in the moneth of *December*, it was for the second time sworn in all the Congregations of the Kingdome, upon the same day, (except where vacancy, or the Ministers being under scandal or process, did occasion a delay till another day, that the place was supplied by another Minister) with great Solemnity, and such mixture of Joy and Sorrow as became people entering in *Covenant* with the Lord, And was thereafter Subscribed by all the Swearers. Afterward, the *Parliament* Conveening, in *January 1649.* by their very first *Act*, except the Election of their President, upon

upon the same grounds, Resolved to kept a Fast by themselves, for the Causes contained in the Acknowledgment, and to renew the Covenant according to the Order of the Commission, which was also most solemnly done. And last of all the General Assembly 1649. by their *AA*, July 7. did unanimously and expressly Ratify the proceedings of the Commission, as to the *Acknowledgment of Sins*; *Engagement to duties*, the Fasts, and *Renewing of the Covenant by Swearing and Subscribing thereof*. Hence, as the Covenant it self, so the *Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to duties* became National, Authorised by the Supream Judicature of Church and State, and are still obliging by Oath. *Oh that the Lord had kept these things in the Imagination of the thoughts of our heart for ever.*



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True and short
DEDUCTION

Of the WRESTLINGS of the
CHURCH of SCOTLAND,

For the KINGDOM of
JESUS CHRIST,

From the beginning of the Reformation
of Religion, unto the Year 1667.

After all these great and glorious things,
which the Lord in his Love, Mercy and
Faithfulness hath wrought for this Land,
and in his holiness & Righteousness hath
declared amongst us; these clear and
powerful Manifestations of his blessed
Truth, which have so brightly shined
forth, to the Glory, Beauty and Praise of this whole
Nation: After these many sacred and most solemn En-
gagements, whereby, in the evidence and power of the
same Truth, all Ranks and degrees, from the King even
to the meanest, became, and are still bound and devoted
to

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to the Host High and Holy, Our Covenanted God, and to our blessed Lord Jesus Christ, (who alone is King in Zion and of all Saints, and whose are all the Kings and Kingdomes of the Earth,) for the advancement of his Glory and Kingdome, and for the owning and maintaining of his Glorious Word and precious Truth, which is all our Felicity and Joy: And after all this horrid Apostacy & Rebellion, whereby the same wretched Nation, in the same Generation, and almost in the same Persons, neither from the conviction of any pretended Reason or Conscience, nor from any solid perswasion of the very Advantage designed, but in the manifest Spirit of Wickedness and violence, have forgotten, despised & blasphemed the former power and Glory; Rebelled against God, by breaking the Holy Covenant; Rejected our Lord and Saviour; Overturned the Work of his own blessed Spirit and Arm; Abrogated and rescinded all these righteous Lawes and Ordinances, whereby it was established; And by most Unjust, Arbitrary and Cruel Lawes and Practices, have endeavoured the rebuilding and promoting of the Kingdome of Darkness and Antichrist, and precipitating of all men, either into the same condemnation with themselves, or utter ruine and Extirpation; After, we say; all these things, which the Lord hath thus wrought and permitted in the midst of us, neither the Discouragement and Fainting of some, nor the Unsuccessfulness of the more honest and Zealous endeavours of others, nor yet our Silence hitherto, is greatly to be wondered at. For, whose eyes can behold all these things, without Dimmes and affecting of the heart? And whose heart can consider them, without Astonishment and Horrour, if not Stupefaction or Discouragement? How little wonder is it, that every visage (suppose of the fairest Nazarite) be blacker than a coal? That every eye run down with waters? And that the souls of many refuse to be comforted, and neither do

nor

nor dare rejoyce as other people? When not only, by their going a whoreing from thr Lord, their daily bread is become the bread of Adversity & the waters of Affliction, and when their famine of the Word of the Lord is such, that though they wander from sea to sea seeking it they cannot find it; But also the Comforter that should relieve their souls is far from them, and either covereth Himself with a cloud, that their prayers cannot pass through, or then answereth them only by terrible things in Righteousness; How can they, who by their Vanities have moved the Holy God to Jealousy, and thereby have provoked their Rock to sell them, stand before their Enemies, or chase a thousand and put ten thousand to flight? And although that we should plead with our Mother, with our Rulers, and with all other ranks of persons within the Land, that they would put away their whoredomes out of their sight, and their Adulteries from between their breasts; yet what hope is there, that Words shall prevail, where the Power and Glory of the most High is contemned? Or that Reason shall be heard, where the Counsel of God is rejected?

Here indeed is matter of Wonder and Praise, even the Long suffering of the Lord, (which is Salvation) and the Mercy and faithfulness of our God, who hath not only hitherto preseryed a Remnant, even a holy seed, which shall be the substance of our Land; But (after this late suddain & astonishing stroak of his holy Indignation, which seemed to presage no less, than the woful overturning of this sinking Church, into the depth of all darkness, and the dreadful overthrow of this whole Land and Nation, in the consummation of his fierce anger, to have been poured out in our desolation) hath made Light and Salvation to arise, and Glory and Praise to spring forth, in making his grace more manifest, and commending and asserting His Work and Covenant, more in the Sufferings and Death of His faithful Servants and Wit-

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nesses, than in all the prosperity and Victories, which formerly he vouchsafed upon us. O! blessed and exalted be his most Holy Name and abundant Grace, who for the wicked and momentary rejoycing of our adversaries, hath given to his People such sweet consolations and Exuberant Praise; and from the depths of our present distresses, and amidst the feares of so imminent and great judgments, hath, in stead of an Apology before the world, put a song of Salvation in our Mouth, that, as well to Testify for the Lord against the backsliders, as for the comfort and consolation of all, who love and wait for his Salvation. We may call the Heavens to hear and the Earth to give ear, that we may publish the Name of the Lord, and ascribe Greatness to our God, whose work is perfect, and all his wayes Judgment; A God of Truth, and without iniquity, Just and Right is He. We have corrupted ourselves, our spot is not the spot of his Children, we are a perverse and crooked generation: Do we thus require the Lord, O foolish people and unwise? Yet is not He our Father that hath bought us? Hath not He made us and established us? Let us then remember the dayes of old, when the most High did visit us, and the Lord became Our God, and we became His People and Inheritance. This is the Testimony of dying withnesses; this is the voice of his present Dispensations. We will therefore call to mind the Years of the Most High, and the wondrous works of the Lord, which He alone did work in our Land: We will also declare our manifold Engagements, and our most solemn and sacred Covenants, with and to Our God; that the Lord's Loving Kindness may be made known; that the Innocency, Strength & Joy of his Servants may appear; that the glory of all his Righteous Judgments, which are either already come upon us, or which we have reason to fear, may be made manifest; that wickedness may stop it's mouth;

mouth; and that all the Enemies of the Lord may be confounded.

It is not here intended to resume these debates, which, as the Adversaries have formerly moved, and pertinaciously maintained against the Work of God, and almost against every passage and transaction thereof; so have the Lovers and Owners of it, abundantly satisfied, and the Lord Himself determined with that power and Evidence, that, the Conversion of some and Conviction of almost all, and even of it's most desperat opposers, is not the smallest part of its Glory: But seeing the party that now prevaileth, hath disdained that method, and only by plain force and Violence, in the most gross and desperat Rebellion, Blasphemy and Perfidy against God and his Cause, and the highest and most determined contempt and misregard of all good Conscience, and sacred Oathes, that ever the sun beheld, hath carried on and advanced this present Apostacy and defection, under which all the Godly do mourn, and the Land perisheth. We shall only here endeavour, the sincere and candid Representation of these thinge, which, as they were once the Glory of the Lord, and joy of his people in this poor Nation, so are they now the Testimony and Triumph of his witnesses, and the Patience and Hope of all his Sufferers, and may be to the full Satisfaction of all, who shall hear of these late and present troubles, wherewith the Lord doth Exereise us, and will undoubtedly in the end prove, either the Exaltation and Praise, or the Desolation and perpetual Confusion of BACKSLIDEN SCOTLAND.

When Scotland, through the usurpation of the Roman Antichrist, and the contagion of his abominations, and through the Pride, Lust and Tyranny of Prelacy, (the very root and strength of that Kingdom of wickedness) had fallen into that gross and black darkniess of Ignorance

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and Superstition, and into these strong delusions, (where with the Lord, as he hath threatned, so hath he ever infallibly plagued that Antichristian course) and for many hundred Years had lien involved therein; It pleased the Lord in his wonderful mercy and free love, to cause the glorious Light of the everlasting Gospel again to arise and shine forth amongst us: Which, as it is ever best witnessed by its own power and purity; So through the power and wisdom of God alone, even by the weakness of very mean instruments, in the midst of the flames of fiery persecutions, and against the rage and fury of the Devil, and of all the powers of Hell, was this work advanced and effectuated: As the records of these times from 1494. until about the Year 1560. do plainly discover. During which period of time, these things are very observable.

First. That where, and when ever the Light and Truth of God did discover and testify against the Corruptions, Errors; Idolatry, and Superstitions of Popery, in the same manner it testified and declared, that the Popes usurped Tyranny, and the Pride, Idleness and Domination of the wicked Prelates, were chiefly the Authors and Maintainers thereof.

Secondly. That such as the Lord did from time to time call to, and send forth for the work of the Ministry, did walk therein, with the same Painfulness, Poverty, Simplicity, Humility, and Equality, which the Holy command and practices of our blessed Lord and his Apostles, do constantly commend: Hence it is, that, in so far as this point could fall under the enquiry of these times, it is clearly held out, that they acknowledged no Officer in Gods house Superior to a Preaching Minister: And according to the standard of this Office, did they try, reject and crave the Reformation of exorbitant Prelacy. As the examinations & testimonies of the faithful in these dayes do witness.

Thirdly. That as the love of God and his blessed Truth, add the Precepts, Promise and Presence of our Lord Jesus Christ,

Christ did enable unto all Patience with joy, such as, by the call of a clear and necessary providence, the Lord set forth to be witnesses; (who, for the love and Testimony of Jesus, cheerfully embraced the fire and faggot) so when the Lord did multiply the faithful to a Reasonable Capacity, they were so far from resigning themselves, and abandoning that First, and most just Priviledge of *Self-defence*, to the arbitrement even of the lawful powers, and of that Authority which they did acknowledge, that they not only owned it and stood to it: but did account themselves so much the more obliged to their own Preservation, and esteemed the same so much the more endeared to them, that the setting forth of the Glory of God, in the maintenance of the blessed Gospel, & the propagation and continuance thereof seemed so necessarily to depend thereon: which endeavours they did further extend, in the bowels and bounds of brotherly affection in Christ Jesus, unto the same duty of defence and *Assistance* to all his members'. And in effect: if their principles and practices be well considered, it will appear, that, as when God called them to suffering, they loved not their lives unto Death, that they might witness a good confession; so when they attained to any probability of *Acting*, they thought themselves indispensibly obliged, upon their uttermost hazard to defend the Gospel which they had received, and to suppress all Superstition and Idolatry contrary thereto, although the motive of *Self-defence* had not been conjoined: And it will appear, that the Necessity of Convocations and Combinations (though not only without, but even against Authority; Yet being in order to such necessary and just Ends, did sufficiently warrand them before God and all men, from the breach of any Law or Act then standing against the same, wherewith they might have been charged. For verification hereof, though the whole course of our Reformation be an unquestionable evidence, yet let the instance of their first appearance be observed, wherein both

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the motives, Actors, and all other circumstances, do more clearly and beyond all cavillation hold out, that only the **Love and Zeal of God**, in the same Spirit in which they had so constantly suffered, did stir them up, from the pure and vive sense of their indispensible duty and certaine priviledge, against all opposition whatsoever, to own and set themselves for the defence of the Gospel and the true Ministers thereof. The passage is thus.

In or about the Year 1555. the Queen by the instigation of the Prelats, (perceiving the increase of the Protestants, and fearing some inward distraction, during the wars then with England, if shee should fall upon a more rigorous and general course,) did cause all the Preachers to be summoned: Whereupon the body and generality of the whole Protestants, resolved to keep the Dyet. But the Bishops apprehending the hazard, did procure that they should be commanded instantly to the borders: Nevertheless God had so provided that upon the same day the West-land Quarter returned from it; which consisting of many faithful men, so soon as they understood the matter, they repaired to the Queen, and plainly in the hearing of the Prelates did charge them with the cruel device intended, and certified Her of their resolution, both to oppose it, and defend their Brethren to their uttermost; and ceased not, until that She was moved to discharge the citation.

Thereafter in the Year 1557. they entered into a Covenant and constant mutual Defence of the Gospel, their Ministers, and themselves, against all their adversaries, in these words, *We perceiving how Sathan in his members, the Antichrists of our time. cruelly do rage, seeking to overthrow and destroy the Gospel of Christ, and his Congregation, ought, according to our bound duty, to strine in our Masters cause, even unto the death, being certain of the Victorie in him: The which our duty being well considered, We do promise before the Majesty of God, and his Congregation, That we (by his grace) shall with all diligence continually apply our whole power, substance,*
and

and our very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed Word of God, and his Congregation: And shall labour according to our power, to have faithful Ministers truly and purely to Minister Christs Gospel and Sacraments to his people. We shall maintain them, nourish them, and defend them; the whole Congregation of Christ, and every Member thereof according to our whole powers, and waging of our lives, against Satan and all wicked power that doth intend Tyranny or trouble against the foresaid Congregation. Vnto which holy Word and Congregation, we do joyne us; and so forsake and renounce the Congregation of Satan with all the superstitious abominations and idolatry thereof. And moreover, shall declare our selves manifest enemies thereto, by this our faithful promise before God testified to this Congregation, by our Subscription to these presents. At Edinburgh the third day of December, Anno 1557. God called to witness.

Likeas in the Year 1559. being again necessitated to assemble for, and stand to the defence of the Gospel and themselves, at Perth, they renewed and enlarged the same engagement, according to the good hand and Spirit of God upon his Servants, in these words, At Perth the last day of May, the Year of God 1559. Yeares, the Congregations of the West Countrey, with the Congregations of Fife, Perth, Dundie, Angus, Mearns and Montrose, being conveened in the Name of Iesus Christ. for setting forth of his glory, understanding nothing more necessary for the same, than to keep a constant amity, unity, and fellowship together, according as they are commanded by God, are confederate, and become bound and obliged in the presence of God, to concurre and assist together in doing all things required of God in his Scripture, that may be to his glory; and at their whole powers to destroy and put away all things that doth dishonour to his name, so that God may be truly worshipped. And in case that any trouble be intended against the said Congregation, or any part or Member thereof, the whole Congregation shall concurre, assist, and conveen together, to the defence of the same Congregation or person troubled: and shall not spare

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labours, goods, substance, bodies and lives, in maintaining the liberty of the whole Congregation, and every Member thereof, against whatsoever person shall intend the said trouble for cause of Religion, or any other cause depending thereupon, or lay to their charge under pretence thereof, although it happen to be coloured with any other outward cause.

And again in the Moneth of August the same Year, after having sustained and valiantly resisted a second assault, both of the wicked Prelats, and of their other violent adversaries: by a third band and Oath they added a further caution to their former engagements, to the effect that in so just and holy a cause, they might never by force or fraud be thereafter fainted or divided.

And lastly in April Anno 1560. they engaged themselves in a fourth bond in these words, *We whose names are underwritten, have promised and obliged our selves faithfully in the presence of God, and by these presents do promise, that we together in Generall, and every one of us in special by himself, with our bodies, goods and friends, and all that we can do, shall set forward the Reformation of Religion, according to Gods Word, and procure by all means possible, that the Truth of Gods Word, may have free passage within this realme, with due administration of the Sacraments and all things depending upon the said Word — that we shall each one with another, all of us, effectually concurre, joine in one, take and hold one plain part for the, — and recovery of our ancient freedome, Liberties — that we may be ruled by the Lawes and Custome of the Countrey, — Again that we shall tender the common Cause, as if it were the Cause of every one of us in particular; And that the Causes of every one of us now joyned together, being lawfull and honest, shall be all our Cause in Generall; And that he that is enemy to the Cause foresaid, shall be Enemy to us all in so far. — Wee have superadded these instances (as wee might have done two or three more) to the first proposed, because of their great resemblance, since there can be nothing more manifest, than that the same Provocations, the same Spirit, the same Principles*

ciples: and the same Design; did most uniformly influence all these Transactions. Now seeing that both the Occasion, Actors, Aime, and End of the first Action, and especially the observable Providence of God, that without all contrivance of man did over-rule it, do clearly purge it of any intended Rebellion or other wickedness; Certainly to affirm, that all these things were nevertheless acted in & by a rebellious Spirit, must be a sin, at least next unto that of high despite & Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, & Spirit of grace, by whose power alone, this blessed work was effectuated. Neither durst the Arch-prelat himself though our Arch-Adversary in this our present cause, & though he knew that the same doth infallibly either stand or fall upon the same principles and grounds with these cases now under consideration, proceed any further in his censure of these courses and practices; than to disprove them as Violent and Disorderly. There is one thing further, which is also before touched, that the instances above adduced, especially the first, both for the Meanness of it's Actors, the unpremeditated plainness of its Manner, & the singleness and purity of its End, doth most evidently make out, viz. that as these men of God, by their small and improbable appearance, did as much witness their unfained love of the Truth and zeal of his Glory, in the manifest contempt and hazard of their lives and fortunes, As when under the dispensation & call of another providence, they did patiently and cheerfully upon the same motives, lay down their lives, and suffer the loss of all things; So the end of their undertaking, was not only their own just and necessary Defence, which in such an apparent danger, might rather seem to be abandoned than intended; but above all things, the Maintenance and Defence of that blessed Evangel, which was dearer to them, than all other interests whatsoever. Wee know our great adversaries, who for the gain & pleasures of this life (what then would they not do for the preservation of life it self?) have often renounced, and would a-

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gain renounce all Conscience, Alleagance and Truth; and who by their detestable Flattery, in denying the lawfulness of self defence although in effect Self be their only Idol) and pretending a fained affection, and illimited submission without reserve, do only court the Powers, for the advancing of these interests, which they seem to relinquish; as the revolutions of the World have frequently declared their practices in prejudice of both Religion and Royalty, and have often resolved both their practices and principles, into that one Devilish position, the first ye a only fixed rule of their Religion, *Skin for skin, yea all that a man hath will be giue for his life*; These, we say, are not curious to enquire in this distinction; Yet, seeing they leave nothing unessayed whereby to promote their design, and therefore, do often cavil from such advantages as the work of God afterwards obtained, and particularly the Concurrence of the Peers and *Primores Regni*, and from the defect thereof in the first appearances, would inferre the unlawfulness of the same, especially in order to the design of Reformation; Therefore wee further add with these noble worthies, that as it cannot be denied. 1. That the right and Priviledge of Self defence is not only founded in, but is the very first instinct of pure Nature, and spring of all motion and action. 2. That it was competent to, and exercised by every individual; before that either Society or Government was known. 3. That it was so far from being surrendred by the erecting of these, that it was and is the great End and motive, for which all voluntary Societies and Policies were introduced and are continued. 4. That it is a principal rule of Righteousness, whereunto that great command of love to our neighbour, by the Law of God and by our Lord himself is resolved, and whereby it is interpreted; so it doth infallibly follow, that the same right and Priviledge is yet competent to all men, whether Separatly or Jointly; and needeth no other prerequisite, but that of intolerable and inevitable injury; which

which for a man to suffer under pretext of the good of the Common-wealth, would be, for the delusion of an empty name, only for the lust of others, really to deprive himself of his whole share and interest therein) and is compleated for exercise by such a Probable Capacity, as may encourage the Assertors thereof to undertake it.

And as for that other, and more noble design of the Maintenance and Reformation of Religion, waving the question and Debate, *Whether the same can or ought to be by force maintained?* Which may appear sufficiently determined to rational men, by the very contrary Practices of its adversaries, who not only by force do fight against it, but most irreligiously usurpe and detort its own weapons viz. the precepts of our Lord, for patience and meekness under a dispensation of suffering, to the perswasion of a stupid submission, and casting away the opportunity of Defence and acting; that without control they may work its overthrow; And supposing with all men, that force is not a proper argument of perswasion, and that Religion neither can, nor ought to be thereby propagated; Yet are we in conscience perswaded, that the grounds following, evidently held out in the records of these times, are beyond contradiction.

1. That Religion (the highest concernment of Gods glory and of mans happiness both temporal and eternal) is the most important, dear and precious of all interests.

2. That to be violented in this (which cannot be without an unjust force either of mens Persons or Goods, is the most wicked and insupportable of all injuries.

3. That the propelling by force of such injuries, was the justest cause and quarrel, that men in their Primeve Liberty could be engaged in.

4. That, as for the security of this Interest, and no wayes to make an absolut surrender thereof to the arbitrament of any, men were mostly induced to the appointing of Governours, so the glory of God, which is the end

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of all things, but herein is most especially concerned, was, by the erecting of Rule and Government, for the security of Religion, more particularly and eminently intended.

5. That the Powers appointed for Preservation, cannot warrantably endeavour Subversion.

6. That, as every man is bound to obey God rather than man; so such Violence, and intolerable and inevitable injury offered by the Powers on his account, as to the person injured, destroyeth both the Commonwealth of the people, and more specially, the Glory of God, which are the only ends of Government, maketh both the end, the Means of Government and Authority, and the injured person's Obligation thereunto, to cease.

7. As the persons, one or more reduced to this estate and condition, if by a real or apparent incapacity of Acting, they conceive themselves called to a Testimony by Suffering, ought herein with all patience, to give unto God the Glory; so having the opportunity of, and being called, whether to their own Defence, or the Assisting of their Brethren in so just a cause, they ought therein valiantly to acquit themselves, for the Glory of God, the maintenance of his Truth, and the mutual preservation one of another.

8. As the Combination of more persons, whom the same common cause of just and necessary Defence doth join together; is founded upon, and doth most natively arise from that Primeve Right and Privilege, which at first gave Being and Rise to all Societies, and whereunto, the force of extream Necessity, through the perversion of that Mean of Government, appointed for their Preservation, doth ultimately reduce them; so the duty of mutual Assistance, is not only warranted by that principle of Humanity and common Stipulation, which is the Motive and Bond of mens entering into Society, the immediat and subordinat End of all Rule, and the most effective Mean, whereby

that superior end of the Good and Safety of every Individual therein included, can be best secured: But also, first, by that more endearing principle of Christian and brotherly Affection in the Lord; upon the indispenfible force and obligation whereof, the very glory and righteousness of the great and laft judgement seemeth to be founded, *Mat. 25: 31. to the end.* And, fecondly, by that fupream and chief concernment of God's Glory, to which the intereffs of all Powers and Commonwealth's muft certainly ftoop & cede. And how is it poffible, that any fcruple anent this can remain with any confiderat or confcientious perfon? If we confider that whole Cities, Kingdomes, and Empires, for the violation of this duty, in not relieving and delivering of Innocents from the unjuft Tyranny, even of lawful Powers, have been involved in the Guilt of the violence and cruelty, which had been only acted by one or a few perfons, and have been overtaken therefore, by fearful effects and Judgments, to their utter ruine and Subverfion. As is moft evidently confirmed by that clear intimation thereof made by *Jeremiab*, to the Jewes, *Chap. 26: 15. Know ye for a certain that if ye put me to death, ye fhall furely bring innocent blood upon your felves, and upon This City, and upon The Inhabitants thereof.*

9. As the Power and exercice of Reformation hath been groffly calumniated by the adverfaries, as if thereby were meant and had been practifed manifefte force and violence upon Confciencces and Perfwaſions; fo on the other hand, open Idolatry, Blaſphemy, Perjury, Venting and Spreading of Heresy, and fuch like abominations, (being moſt diſhonorable to God, and pernicious to all Commonwealths) ought without doubt, by all means to be ſuppreſſed, reſtrained and ſeverely puniſhed. Now that this Vindicative and (in caſe of backſliding) Reforming Power is committed to the Magiſtrat, and that he is thereto mainly appointed, none will queſtion; but what if not only the Snpream Magiſtrat, but with him all the Nobles and

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Primores of the Realme shall turn the principal perversers, and chief Patrons of these abominations? As we have already cleared, that, in case either the People or any part of them, be violented to a sinful complyanee, or be wickedly persecuted for adhering to God in the profession and practice of the contrare duties; they may lawfully Defend themselves, and are mutually bound to assist and deliver one another: So it now comes to be considered, that, seeing the maintenance of Truth and the true Worship of God, were & are the principal ends & motives of contracting of Societies and erecting of Governments, whereunto both the People and Rulers, are not only separatly every one for himself, but jointly obliged for the publick advancement and establishment thereof; and that God doth therefore equally exact and avenge the sin of the Rulers only, or of the People only, or of any part of the People only, upon the whole body of the Rulers and People, for their simple Tolerance and connivance, Without their active complianee with the transgressors; of necessity, both from the principles deduced, and from the most visible judgments of God agreeable thereto, there must be a Superior and Antecedent obligation to that of Submission, incumbent upon all both jointly and separatly, for the maintenance, vindication and Reformation of Religion, in order to the promoting these great ends of the publick profession of Truth and true Worship, which the Lord doth indispensibly require And though this position be indeed more evident, where expresse Covenants betwixt God and the whole People, betwixt Rulers and their Subjects, and betwixt the People and subjects amongst themselves in order to these Holy Duties, can be produced; yet seeing all Constitutions of Societies and Governments, do virtually suppose and imply the same, and are founded thereon, the Assertion doth with equal certainty firmly hold. But that all contradiction may stop its mouth, let the import and true meaning of the Scriptures, and instances following be

be impartially weighed. Deut 13: ver. 12, 13, 14, 15. The Lord saith, *If thou shalt hear that in one of thy cities, certain men amongst you have withdrawn the inhabitants of their city, to serve other Gods, and if after diligent search, the thing be found a truth, thou shalt smite and destroy that city utterly.* Ios. 22: ver. 17, 18, 19. Phineas saith to the two Tribes and the half, upon their supposed defection, *If yee rebell to day against the Lord, to morrow he will be in wrath with the whole Congregation of Israel:* And Judges 22. throughout, in the case of Israel against Benjamin and Gibeah. All the places, as they clearly hold out the command and practice most consonant to our position; so to think that the same may be evaded, by astringing the places to the Hypothesis contained in the letter viz. of more or all the cities against one apostatizing, and that either an equal division of the cities, (the one half faithful, the other backslidden) should bring the matter to an accommodation; or that the greater part backslidden (who certainly had the casting voice in that Democratick constitution, should oblige the fewer remaining stedfast, to a sinful acquiescence, is to elude all Scripture, and mock the Holy Ghost by whom it is given. Now, whether these places and what is premised, do warrand a just extention thereof in favours of the people, against backslidden Rulers both supream and subordinat, or even in favours of a part of the people (with the caution subjoined) against the greater part wickedly backslidden, let the World judge. Oh! did the wrath of God, for the hidden and secret sin of one poor accursed *Achan*, suddenly and fearfully overtake the whole people, and ALL THE CONGREGATION of Israel, so that, *that man perished not ALONE in his iniquity?* And had not our Reformers great reason to fear and tremble, lest the Manifest Toleration of proud, cruel, and flattering Prelats, who had perverted the lawful Powers into bloody Persecuters; and of Idolatrous Priests, whose wickedness and Idolatry had corrupted the whole Land, might involve, not only them-

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selves but *the whol Nation*, in destroying and overflowing indignation.

We are not ignorant of the no less wicked than groundless evils of some, as if we would make, or have every man to be a *Phinbeas*: And what then? Would God (as wishes, yea prayers and reares could make it) that all his Servants were as *Phinbeas*, and that he would pour upon every one of them, the same Spirit of Holy Zeal which was in him, that by removal of the cause, his fierce anger against this poor consuming Land might cease. But as for that Act of *Phinbeas*, the termes following being general and ambiguous, admitting of several distinctions & subdistinctions, as it is not easy without distinguishing, *in these* to define an Action and Call Extraordinary, and an Action and Call thereunto only Heroical; and to state the true specifical Difference and just limits between an Action and Call Extraordinary, and an Action and Call Heroical, as they are strictly taken and contradistinguished; and clearly and convincingly to demonstrate, what and how much more is required in an Extraordinary Call to all Extraordinary Action, than is required in a sufficient Call unto an Heroical Action? And whether an eminent measure of Holy Zeal, Magnanimity & Fortitude do constitute a sufficient Call unto an Heroical Action; or do only Dispose and fit the person for the right and better performance thereof, as a Call unto the Action, and the *Fitness* of the Person for doing of the same are contradistinguished; or may not both Dispose and fit the person for performance of the Action, and also include and give a Call unto the Action it self: So when the matter is fully considered, it will be more difficult than perhaps is apprehended, to prove that the Act of *Phinbeas* was Extraordinary, strictly taken and in contradistinction to that which is only Heroical; or that his Call thereunto was Extraordinary, in contradistinction to that which is a sufficient Call unto an Heroical Action; and

and more difficult to determine, otherwise than by a naked assertion, what that Extraordinary Call was? Wherein it did consist? Wherein it did differ from, Exceed or Excel a Call unto an Heroick Action? And therefore, it will be also hard convincingly to demonstrat, that it might not have been lawfully done by another of the Children of Israel, whom the Lord had animated thereunto, by the same Holy Zeal and Resolution. And this is the more considerable, because, as we very rarely, (if at all) find the Lord commending & rewarding persons for extraordinary actions, whereunto they had extraordinary Calls, so much & so highly, as here he Commendeth & rewardeth *Phinehas*: So the Text it self *Numb. 25.* doth lay the great, if not the only weight and ground of his commendation & reward, upon his Zeal, and not upon any Extraordinary Call, whereof there is not the least hint or insinuation; For *vers 11.* the Lord saith, *He turned my wrath away from the Children of Israel, while he was Zealous for my sake among them*; and therefore *vers 12, 13.* promiseth him, *His Covenant of peace, a seed after him, and the Covenant of an Everlasting Priesthood, Because he was Zealous for his God.* And if any shall, as it is like, some will alleadge that Heroical Actions, are not more Imitable than those which are Extraordinary; It is humbly offered to be considered, anent Heroical Actions in general. Whether, when the matter of an Action is not only Ordinary, that is, neither Preternatural nor Supernatural, though not very Frequent; but also Just and Lawful, yea, and Necessary both by divine precept, & as a mean to a good & necessary End; and when either, there is not, or doth not appear any other to do the work, whether, I say, in that case, a Spirit of Holy Zeal, Magnanimity and Courage, wrought and excited by the Lord in his Servants and People, more or fewer, being otherwise in a Rational and probable Capacity, be not for that time a sufficient Call, unto the performance of these Actions which

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are commonly called Heroical; and especially when and where the Action is not unnecessarily, irrationally, nor in vanity attempted, but may be, and is performed not only without prejudice of the True, necessary and Chief Good of the Church and Commonwealth, or of any particular persons just Right and security; but also in the case of the Magistrat, and others, their wilful and perverse neglecting of their duty, is necessarily undertaken, and is not only formally intended by the Actor, but also natively and really doth conduce to the Glory of God, the Good of Religion, the preservation and Establishment, of Church and Common-wealth, and of every particular persons Just Rights and Security, by suppressing of Impiety, promoting of Truth and Holiness, doing of Justice, Turning away of wrath and removing of present and preventing of future Judgments: And as for the particular instance of *Phinehas*, if the Lord did not only raise him up to that particular Act of Justice, but also warrant and accept him therein, and reward him therefore, upon the account of his Zeal, when there was a Godly & Zealous Magistrat, able, and whom we cannot without breach of charity presume, but also willing to Execute Justice; How much more may it be pleaded, that the Lord, who is the same, yesterday, to day and for ever, will, not only pour out of that same Spirit upon others, but also when he gives it, both Allow them, though they be but private persons, and also Call them, being otherwise in a Physical and probable Capacity, to do these things in an Extremely necessitous, and otherwise irrecoverable State of the Church, to which in a more intire condition thereof, he doth not Call them; and particularly when there is not only the like or worse provocations, the like Necessity of the Execution of justice and of Reformation, for the turning away of Wrath and Removal of Judgments, that was in *Phinehas* case; but also when the Supreme Civil Magistrat, the *Primores Regni* and

and other inferior Rulers, are not only unwilling to do their duty, but so far corrupted and perverted, that they are become the Authors and patronizers of these abominations. Which is also the more considerable, because, if upon the fear or suspicion of the Accidental hazard of Private mens usurping of the Office, or doing of the duty of Publick persons, every vertue and vertuous Action, which may be so abused, shall be utterly neglected, Impiety shall quickly gain an Universal Empire, to the extermination of all Goodness. It is true, that the God of Order hath assigned to every man his Station and Calling, within the bounds whereof he should keep, without transgressing by Defect or Excess; and therein wait and act, in such a measure of the Spirit as He is pleased to communicate: And we do not hold such instances for Regular and ordinary precedents for all times and persons universally; which while some have fancied, and heeding more the glory and fame of the Action, than the sound and solid Rule of the Holy Scriptures, they have been tempted and carried to fearful Extravagancies: Neither are insolent or disorderly, much less wicked attempts, which sometimes have covered, and yet may mask themselves with a pretence of Zeal, upon this or any other ground, to be licenced or approved; But on the other hand, as these instances hold forth, for the conviction and reproof of our stupidity and indifferency, what an high pitch of Holy Zeal and Courage, the Servants of the Lord have sometimes attained, and do further demonstrate, that He doth sometimes warrant even Private persons, in their doing of these things: in an Extream Necessity and collapsed state of the Church, to which at other times He doth not call them: So when the Lord, with whom is the residue of the Spirit, doth breath upon his people more or fewer, to the exciting of more than Ordinary Zeal, Courage and Resolution, for the Reforming of an Apostat Church, for the Execution of justice

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upon

upon the Adversaries, and for the advancing and establishing of Truth and Holiness in the Earth. wee should rather ascribe glory and praise to him, whose hand is not shortened, but many times chooseth the weak and Foolish things of the World, to confound the Mighty and the Wise, than condemn His Instruments for Rebels and Usurpers, as it is like *Phinebas* would have been, had he lived in this generation, if the same Lord, who by his Spirit had Acted him, had not also by his own hand rescued him.

10. As the Right of Self Defence, mutual Assistance and Reformation, is properly and only derivable from the grounds adduced; so the Concurse of the Nobles and *Primates Regni*, is no wayes of *absolute necessity*, though indeed singularly conducible for the carrying on thereof. Unto which Concurrence, as they are doubly obliged, according to that, *unto whom much is given, of the same much shall be required*; so, if they shall convert their Power to the strengthening of the hands of the wicked, they do thereby not only aggravat their own condemnation, but by their endeavouring to wreath and fasten more strongly the yoke of wickedness and oppression, they do the rather and more justify the cause and plea of all the Asserters of Truth and Righteousness.

These are a part of the grounds, whereupon these Noble Worthies, raised up by God, and eminently by him inspired, did singly act for His own glory: Which as they have left upon record for their own perpetual vindication, so thereby they did clearly purge themselves from all imputation of Rebellion. Nor were their proceedings and practices ever by any so much as termed disorderly, except by such who being altogether indifferent in the Work of God, endeavour by all means to calumniat and shame them, from being made precedents to their own prejudice.

Fourthly, It is observable, that though the practices of these

these first times were Extraordinary, & to many may appear Disorderly, Yet the faithful men whom the Lord honoured both to suffer & to do for His name, did constantly and boldly charge both the Rise and progress of these disorders, upon the persons then in Power & Authority, who, being ordained & entrusted by God, for the defence and maintenance of Truth and Righteousness, (as the only true foundations and solid grounds of the Peoples felicity, whether temporal or eternal, and including all the ends, for which either the Power or Persons of Governours are appointed, and consequently, the principal bonds of all obedience and subjection, for which all these engagements are intended, and to which they do ultimately referre) by refusing and starting out from this most sacred and fixed line of subordinations; As they could not claim Obedience to their unjust commands, so, farless could they oblige the people to that more than slavish and brutish subjection, in the submitting of their souls, bodies & goods to the arbitrement of their cruel tyranny, directly contrary unto, and destructive of all these holy and great ends, both of Gods glory, and the peoples spiritual and temporal good, for which they were constituted Governours.

That this was the source and fountain of all disorders in these times, and that it was so reputed to be by these valiant Worthies, who then opposed them, the History thereof doth plainly verify. We are not forgetfull; how vehemently the Powers on earth, which set themselves against the Lord, and their creatures and flatterers, have in all times decryed such assertions: The noise, belshings, and thunderings of *Treason, Treason*, wherewith the very mentioning of such positions, useth at once to be attended and condemned, do already sound in our ears: Let such as are thereby alarmed, read the debates and controversies, both of former and latter times; Especially these two *Martyrs* against Tyranny,

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Lex Rex, and the *Apologetical Narration* upon this subject. This is our peace and Establishment before the Lord and all men; that we with our Noble Reformers do acknowledge and honour Authority as the great Ordinance of God, for the uphold and maintenance of Truth and Righteousness; and the persons therewith vested, not only as eminently thereby dignified, but also as most signally impressed, by a very sacred and illustrious Character of the glorious Majesty of the Most High, who hath appointed them: But on the other hand, we cannot but wish, that these same persons would constantly remember, that not only they are the Ministers of God, and to Him accountable, but also his Ministers to the people for their good, when they neither ought to tyrannize over all at their pleasure, nor Rule only for their own profit. O! that these sacred Boundaries had ever been observed, and that both Tyranny and Rebellion with all their Antidots and remedies, had been perpetually unknown. But shall Tyranny, unto which, power, both in its self is so easily corrupted, and by the flattery of others more frequently abused, be not only shrouded under the privilege and impunity of a divine exemption; but thereby, in effect be more intolerably licenced, to the acting of all wickedness and violence, and the perverting and overturning of all the ends of government? And in the mean time, shall the peoples most just and necessary defence of themselves, (whereunto they are seldome and very hadly provoked, even by the most extream necessity) and of all their most precious concernments, the very ends for which the powers are ordained, be continually at the arbitrement of any Court-creature or flatterer, proscribed and persecuted under these odious names of *Treason* and *Rebellion*? Certainly, neither the all-wise providence of God; nor yet the frame of nature can endure such a Solecisme. For our part, as we are perswaded, that none pleadeth for

for this absolute submission in the people & exemption of the Prince, but such as for advancing of their own interest, have first prostrated their consciences to the Princes arbitrament, in a blind and absolut obedience; whereby they know themselves sufficiently secured from all smart and inconvenience, of that more brutal than rational submission contended for: So are wee confident, that seeing subjection is principally enjoined, for and in order to obedience, whatsoever reason or authority can be adduced to perswade an absolute & indispensible subjection, will far more rationally and plausibly inferre an illimited and absolute obedience, and that to plead for a priviledge in the point of obedience, and to disclaim it in the point of subjection, is only the flattery of such, as having renounced with conscience all distinction of obedience, would develt others of all priviledges, that they may exercise their tyranny without controll. But he who hath called Rulers, *Gods*; Doth notwithstanding himself remain the most high God over all the Earth; and from his obedience, neither the commands nor violence of Kings of clay ought in the least to remove us. And as these inferior Princes do often forget their subordination to the most high, in their unjust commands; and would usurpe his Throne, by an uncontrollable Sovereignty; so the Lord, by the warrand of his Word, and approbation of his providence, and also of the people, (when by them oppressed, but by himself animated and strengthened) hath declared and made void this their pretended exemption and impunity, and removed the carcases of such Kings and broken their Scepter. Amongst which precedents, the instance of these times, whereof we now speak, is worthily recordeth, & deserveth better to be remembred.

Seeing therefore, that neither the ordinance and commission of God, nor yet the surrender of the people, though into an absolute slavery (which yet no presumption

tion less than their own most express content can possibly inferre) can from any certain & rational ground and warrant, be either produced and pleaded, for vesting the Prince with that arbitrary and irresistible power and dominion, necessary and requisit to oblige the Subject to a stupid and brutish submission, to all possible injuries and outrages; and that it is impossible for any rational man, to concede that priviledge of exemption and impunity to wickedness and fury, for murdering both the Souls and Bodies of poor Subjects, which our very adversaries deny to weakness or folly, in case of alienation of the Kingdom, or any part thereof, or any such gross act of malversation. And lastly seeing the great inconvenience, of opening a door to rebellion and all disorder, mainly urged by the adversaries, against the permitting of the people any judgment or reflection upon the Princes actings, doth more rationally plead for implicit & blind obedience, which they themselves disprove, than militat against necessary defence and resistance in case of persecution for lawful non-obedience; And that the great and true *Salvo* of all these inconveniences, and the main establishment of the Throne, is only true judgement and righteousness, no sober and impartial person can condemn their position, who denying that a tyrannous Magistrate was the Minister of God to them for their good, did plainly assert the lawfulness of self-defence, and holy Reformation, without the violation of the Ordinance of God.

But if all these things do not satisfy, Let. 1. The reason of Gods delivering of the Kingdom to the People & not to the King, with the Law it self, *Deut. 17: ver. 14.* (which the manner of the Kingdom and in effect of Tyranny, foretold by the Lord and *Samuel 1 Sam. 8: 10.* by way of disswasive, did no wayes repeal) 2. The import of the Contract and Covenant betwixt Prince and Subject, with the unquestionable interpretation and execution

cution thereof, extant in the records of all Times and Nations; 3. The deed of the People in opposing *Saul* in favours of *Jonathan*, 1 *Sam.* 14: vers 45. and of the ten Tribes in rejecting of *Rehoboam*, 1 *King cap.* 12. (which though v. 19. it be termed *Rebellion*, yet is it no more thereby condemned, than good *Hezekiah*, who is said 2 *King* 18: 7. to have rebelled against the King of *Affyria*) & of *Libna* in revolting from under *Iehoram*, 2 *Chron.* 21: 10. 4. The Prophecies, Manner, and Practice of the most part of the late blessed Reformations. And lastly let the peculiar Right and Constitution of this Kingdome by King and Parliament be considered and solidly answered; And then will wee also subscribe to the condemnation of our Reformers and crave pardon for this digression.

Upon these grounds and principles did our Noble ancestors vigorously bestir themselves, and proceed in the Work of God. And as the Lord was ever with them while they were with Him, and did mind his work steadfastly in sincerity and uprightness of heart; so, notwithstanding all the falshood and faintings which many discovered, yet the Lord himself did gloriously own it, and ceased not, until by the fair product of his own glory, in the clear manifestation of his blessed Evangel, he had without the least prejudice of the fundamental constitution & rights of Government, to the eternal confutation of all calumnies and reproaches, put on the Copestone with these joyous, and never to be forgotten acclamations of *Grace, Grace.*

Thus in the Year 1560. the Land is enlightned, the blessed Gospel of our Lord again revealed and restored; in so much, that both by the first General Assembly of this Church then convening, and the Parliament then holden, A large Confession of the true Faith is framed, approved and published.

O! that men would remember, seriously consider and

fix in their hearts, the greatness and excellency of the Work of Grace and Glory, bringing Salvation, Peace and Good wil toward men; and manifesting the praise and Glory of God in the highest; that in the just estimation thereof, they might also duly and truly ponder, discern, approve or reject all things conducing, either to its advantage or prejudice. But here is the root of all our sin and misery, that though this Light be only our Life; and the Salvation and Redemption thereby revealed, be no less then the project of Gods eternal love, & the subject of His eternal delight; and was more dear and glorious to our Lord Jesus, than the bosome of the Father, and all the glory of Heaven; yet men, so greatly and highly therein concerned, do at best but rejoyce therein for a season, and soon relapse, first into Indifferency and Formality, and then into Error, Superstition and all Ignorance. This the Devil, the author of all wickedness, knowing and improving to the uttermost, for the advancement of his own Kingdom, doth quickly take advantage of, for setting on work, and promoting of that Mystery of iniquity. Which (springing up in that bitter root of Pride, and working in the Spiritual power & subtilty thereof) as it began to work very early in the Christian Church, even amongst the Disciples themselves, in presence of their and our Lord, (as appeareth by their contention, *who should be greatest*) And notwithstanding all the Grace, Power, and Presence of the Lord, which appeared in the times that followed, and all the long and violent persecution, wherewith the Church of God was then exercised; yet continuing its motion, did still advance, until attaining its maturity in the revelation of the Man of Sin, it filled and overwhelmed the Christian World with these strong delusions of Superstition, Idolatry, and all darkness that so long prevailed therein: So it is the main & only Engine whereby Sathan, as in all other Churches, so in this of Ours hath

hath so actively bestired himself, and attempted the overthrow of their latter Reformations.

These are the causes, why, notwithstanding of that great & glorious Light, which the Lord made to shine amongst us, the true Government and Discipline of the Church of Christ, (though his own great Ordinance, instituted both for Fencing and securing of Truth in Purity; and for promoting of the same Truth clearly discovered and Manifested) through long opposition and many difficulties, did scarce in these dayes attain its establishment.

Yet the Lord, who of his own free Mercy and Grace, did visit us with the day spring of his blessed Gospel from on high; did also by his own Power and Presence, in and with his faithful Servants, at length also compleat his work, and establish his Kingdome over us and his Government amongst us: And so the Kingdome became the Lords; even the first fruits of the Kingdomes of the Earth, unto our Lord Jesus Christ.

The Progreſs and Period of this work, from the Year 1560. unto the Year 1592. during which space, these things are very observable.

1. So soon as this Church attained to freedome from persecution and contrary violence, they Assembled in their first National Synod in the Year 1560. by vertue of that *Intrinsic Power* and Priviledge granted by our Lord unto his Church, and exercised by his Apostles and their followers; and that without any question or control: Nor did they so much as petition for the licence of the then Authority, though the same might have been more easily obtained, than the warrant at that time impetrated for conveening of the Parliament.

2. As they first Assembled, and by vertue of the same warrant, did set on foot and continue a constant series of their Courts and meetings; (except in so far as by plain force

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force and violence they were restrained) so they held the same in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ only , and in his sole Authority, by Direction of his Word and Spirit, concluded all their Councils, Votes and Acts. Its true, that they much and long wished for , and thereafter heartily accepted the countenance and concurrence of the Powers for the time; and that , not only for Decency, but also as the gracious performance of that promise , *Isa. 49. ver. 23.* of the favour and assistance of Kings and Queens to the Church in the latter dayes : But as they were persuaded , that the Lord Jesus (perfect in all his house) when invested at his exaltation with all Power in Heaven and in Earth , did make a full grant and Commission of all Gifts and Offices requisite in his Church , *1 Cor. 12. ver. 28. Ephes. 4. 8. & 11.* (Wherein neither King nor Prince is mentioned) and that there was no Authority wanting to these first Decrees made at *Jerusalem* , though emitted upon that simple warrant, *Act. 15. ver. 28.* *It seemed good unto the Holy Ghost and unto us* , (wherein neither King nor Prince was included) so did they account it a gross usurpation , for the Kings on Earth , in place of their promised Patrocinie (to which they are obliged) to claim and invade an Over ruling Arbitriment in the matters of God and his Church; and beleeve that He who established the distinction and confirmed their Right, by separating Cæsars things from the things of God , doth also exact the same on their part.

3. The Brethren convening in these Assemblies, did meet in perfect *Parity and Equality* ; against which , the Extraordinary employments and Commissions delegated to some , upon the account of the particular exigence of these times , did grant no Priviledge or Preheminence.

From these three observations , without mentioning the first Book of Discipline, containing the true grounds and frame of Presbyterial Government, which was compiled

piled in the Year 1560. and then aproved by the whole Church, and subscribed to by a great many Lords and Counsellors, it is evident that *Presbyterial* Government was from the beginning of the Reformation constantly intended, and its foundation really laid. We need not mention that the Pope's Authority, and all Jurisdiction flowing therefrom, was by Law in the same Year 1560, expressly abrogated and discharged; nor that in these first Assemblies, greater Benefices were craved to be dissolved, and Prelacy reputed to be only an *Humane Device*; nor is it necessary for us to clear, how that Extraordinary employment of *Superintendency*, used for a few Years in the beginning, was both only designed for an *Interim*, and in it self wholly different from *Prelacy*, and was at length rejected as burthensome. All these things are sufficiently cleared by the late Large *Apology*.

4. It is observable, that as the Avarice and Power of some, possessed and grasped after the Churches Revenues, did by the procurement of a few packed Commissioners, in the Year 1571, introduce these Mock-Bishops (called *Tulchan*) for the better securing of their own gain, which in the Assemblies immediatly succeeding, were first protested against, then quarrelled, and lastly restrained and subjected thereunto; So the Lord used the same as a warning, to awaken and animat his Servants to a more vigorous prosecution of the establishment of His House in its due Government: In pursuance whereof, the Assemblies with the King's concurrence, from the Year 1575 until the Year 1581. did with much Prayer, Fasting & Painfulness intend the work, until by perfecting of the Second Book of Discipline, and reducing of the Bishops to a simple Dimission, and condemning their Office as unwarrantable, they compleated their work in the exact model of *Presbyterial* Government, in all its Courts and Officers.

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5. During this space in March 1581. (as we now reckon) and after the Assembly had condemned the Office of Bishops as unwarrantable, the King, his Court and Council did swear and subscribe to the National Covenant; By which both the Pope's usurped Authority over the Church in one Article, and his wicked *Hierarchy* in another, are abjured: And the swearers did join themselves unto this true Reformed Church, in Doctrine, Faith, Religion and Discipline; promising by the Great Name of the Lord our God, to continue in the Obedience of the Doctrine and Discipline thereof all the dayes of their lives. Which Discipline, as the foregoing Assertions do clearly discover, to have been from the beginning fundamentally *Presbyterial*; so the Model of *Presbytery* being now compleated, and any shadow of power that the Mock-Bishops hath lately usurped, being now fully abrogated, it is sufficiently clear, that both *Prelacy* is by this Covenant abjured, and *Presbytery* owned and sworn to. And really, if it be further considered, that the Assemblies both 1581. and 1590, while most intent and forward in the erecting of Presbyteries, did enjoin and require the same to be subscribed by all ranks of People in the Land, and that these Acts were both seconded and enforced by Ordinances of King and Council, it may be justly doubted, whether the impudence of the succeeding Prelats in denying of the Obligation, or Perjury in breaking of it, be greater. This is the Great Oath, into which, as the Lord God did bring us by the Power of his own Spirit and Truth, in opposition to that Bloody Bond, called the *Holy League*, wherein Antichrist and his followers had at that time conjured themselves against the true Church of God; So the Kingdom thereby became the Lords, and we his peculiar people, as well by the people's subjecting of themselves and their Allegiance, as by the Kings submitting himself and his Scepter, in a due subordination unto God and our Lord Jesus Chriff,

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for the maintenance and defence of his Church & Gospel, the liberties of the Land & administration of Justice. And this Oath and the Ordinances enjoying it, notwithstanding the many fearful violations thereof that have ensued, do yet stand to this day unrepealed and declared against, to the unanswerable conviction and condemnation, even in their own Courts and consciences, of all its wicked transgressors.

6. As the *Tulchan* Bishops were the effect and product of the avarice of these Lords that favoured them: So the same principle of avarice and wickedness did again resist the work of God, when almost brought to perfection, by stirring up certain of the Nobles to re-induce Bishops, for the better inhausing of their Benefices, and the devouring of the Churches patrimony: And not only for their better establishment, that what they want of divine right and warrant, might be supplied by the accession of the Kings Power and Command; but also that by their meanes, the growing wickedness of these times might abound without restraint or control, the Devil inciteth others of the more prophane, licentious and violent Courtiers, such as the Earle of *Arran* and his complices, to move and instigate the King, contrary both to the Word and Oath of God, to usurp the prerogative of Jesus Christ, who is alone King in Zion, and to invade his Churches priviledges, purchased for her with his own Blood, by assuming to himself in the *first* and *immediat Instance*, the cognition of her Doctrine and Censures; Which though the Church did constantly and valiantly oppose, both by petitions and protestations; yet this wickedness did so impetuously proceed, that all once in a Parliament summarily called in the Year 1582. the prerogative of our Lord is translated upon the King, and his Jurisdiction and Empire exalted over all persons and *Causēs*, the Estate of Bishops, and their power and dignity confirmed, and the power of the General Assemblies

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semblies of the Church put into the King's hand. We mention not these things with any purpose to debate these questions, which have been moved on this Subject: Only we are confident, that how extensive soever the Kings power may be in the case of Reformation (which, Alas! for the most part cometh short of its reach) yet where a Church is Regularly constituted, and so acting, and by Him sworn to be maintained, no King or Prince ought so far to intrude himself into her power and privileges, unto which he is neither called nor gifted, as to assume to Himself a Sovereign and immediat power of judging and discerning upon Doctrine, and her most spiritual Rights and Censures, and thereby in effect not only to constitute Himself a proper and direct Church Officer, without our Lords appointment; but in stead of Papacy so justly abrogated, and so solemnly abjured, to erect and revive the same in Himself (a Secular Person) far more absurdly and intolerably. We know that other formalities and notions are pretended, as these of Treason, Sedition, and Disorder, to palliate & colour this Usurpation; but seeing nothing spoken or acted by warrant of the Word of God, can fall under the definition or pain of these crimes, and that all Ministers and Ecclesiastick Courts are known, allowed and presumed, both to speak and act according to that only warrant. And Lastly, seeing both the warrant is to them committed, and the Church is privileged and permitted, to have its own proper power and cognition thereanent, as it followeth by clear consequence, that the things questioned, must and ought to be *first* subjected to her trial and cognition; so none do deny the Magistrat's just right and power, over both these things and persons, they being once lawfully found to be destitute of the warrant pretended. But seeing both Scripture and Reason doth testify against this Usurpation, as most unlawful in it self and injurious to our Lord Jesus, and that all experiences have

have proven it to be most pernicious to his Church and Kingdom, and theretore many of his faithful Servants have worthily and valiantly resisted it not only to bonds and banishment, but even to blood for the Testimony of their Lord and Master; We return to the purpose of this observation, which is to vindicat the honour of the Lords Work, and the memory of his faithful Servants, in the discovery of the old malice & subtilty of the great Enemy of the Church of God, working in the wicked Prelats and their abettors, who to the effect they may enjoy their carnal designs, and prosecute their wicked lusts without control, endeavour mainly by absolute surrender of all things, powers, persons and interests, to flatter and exalt the King unto an illimited Sovereignty, and pretended Omnipotency, thereby both to oblige and enable him the more to such acts, deeds, and grants as are requisite for the satisfying of their vain Ambition, insatiable Covetousness and wicked lusts: Which Flattery and Usurpation, being not more agreable to the vain heart of man, than contrary to the Kingdom of our Lord, and the Power & purity of his blessed Gospel, what wonder if his faithful Servants (who can neither deny his name, nor disobey his commands, by complying with the wicked practices, & the blasphemous flattery of these vile Apostats) be not only hated of all men; but with their Lord and Master become the continual object of the reproaches, violence and cruelty of the wicked, as enemies and rebels to lawful Authority? Now that the world may perceive the wicked intent and design of this Prerogative, that it is none other than that of the Devil as to conciliate & endear the powers to prelats, who while they creat the Kings prerogative, pretend themselves to be the Kings only Creatures; so to arm and animat the same powers against our Lord and his followers.) Let its Rise and Effects both first and last be marked and observed, and the search will declare, that wicked men lusting to Ty-

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ranny and licentiousness, are checked and called by the freedom and power of faithful Ministers in the application of the Holy Word and Spiritual Censures. What remedy? This freedom is found Treasonable, and prejudicial to the Kings service and Interest, and the plain Zeal of God is therefore taxed as Sedition and Treason; and under these formalities, the Priviledges of the Church are infringed, and all the asserters thereof lashed with the same calumny: Whereupon and to perfect the cure, the King must be declared in all and over all; And by vertue of his fained Omnipotency, and for recovery of that Uniry and Order, which only the coming of our Lord, his blessed Gospel, and Powerful Ministry is pretended to have disturbed, the Ancient Policy of the Church must be restored; and the greatest flatterers made the Archeest Prelats, who by inhauung and by destroying the Power, may compesce the (pretended) insolency of the Ministry; and by the continual pretending of Dissatisfaction and Disloyalty, may terrify men out of all Conscience, until by the introducing of Will-worship and vain Superstitions, they may extinguish all Light, and thereby reduce that Golden Age of Order into stupid Flattery, and of Unity into Implicit Obedience. And if these be not the kind caresses, and most native issues of *Prerogative* and *Prelacy*, and the very restoring and re-establishing of the Kingdom of Antichrist, he who cannot find it in this Period, will find all supplied by the next.

7. Though we love not to reflect on Events, and know that no man knoweth either love or hatred by all that is before him, yet seeing thereby the Lords Judgments are made manifest, men ought both to observe and fear. The Disastrous ends of all the promoters of Prelats in these dayes, (viz. of the Earle of Morton beheaded; Mr *John Douglass* Archbishop of *St Andrews* dying in the pulpit; the Earle of *Arran*, after disgrace, privately killed: Mr *Patrick Adamson* Archbishop of *St Andrews*, after recanation & disgrace, dying

dying in extreame poverty) may justly cause their course the rather to be fumed and detested : but that which we love rather to observe, is , that as the promoters and advancers of *Prelacy* , were alwayes known to be men of no Principles , and for the most part of very flagitious practices ; so the resisters thereof and favourers of *Presbytery* , especially the Lords faithful Ministers in these dayes were not only very eminent in Knowledge, Piety & Holiness, but above all had that great Testimony and confirmation; which our Lord Himself maketh use of , *Iohn 7: v 18.* that they sought not their own glory, and therefore neither spoke nor did of themselves , but sought His Glory that sent them, and therefore were true and no unrighteousness was in them As both their slighting of Court favours, by which they were much tempted, and their obstinat refusal of Bishopricks, whereof King *James* himself bare them witness , doth Testify:

8 The Lord , whose Work is perfect , and who when He beginneth will also make an end , hereafter in the Year 1586. shineth through the cloud , dissipateth the darkness, and after the storm blesteth us with a great calm ; wherein , the Assemblies reassuming their just power, and the matter by the King being brought to a treaty and Conference, the Bishops are first Restrained, and then Reduced. Thereafter the order of *Presbyteries* being set down and perfected in the Year 1590. both the National Covenant is renewed and subscribed , by Order of the Secret Council at the Assemblies desire ; and all the power that remained either in Bishops or Commissioners, by the Assembly is devolved upon the new erected *Presbyteries*. And thus the Work of the Lord , in the *Parl. 12: lam. 6.* by the 11. Act thereof, ratifying *Presbyterial* Government in all its Assemblies. Courts and Officers , qualifying and restricting the former Act. 1584. anent the King's Prerogative , and abrogating all Acts contrary thereto or inconsistent therewith, and by other Acts there recorded, receiveth his

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last and full accomplishment with Power and Beauty, added to the former Grace and Glory.

9. That, as only the malice of Sathan and wickedness of men, have in all Ages opposed the establishment of Presbytery: so the Lord, whose great Work and Ordinance it is, doth no less evidently commend it, by making, as on the one hand, its sincere and holy severity powerfully to coerce and restrain all vice and profanity; so on the other hand, the harmonious and orderly Subordination of its Courts and Assemblies, most efficaciously to prevent and suppress all Schisme and Heresy: Which both the experience of these and all succeeding times do most clearly confirm.

But though the Lord had shewed us all these great and manifold temptations and troubles, and terminated them all in such a wonderful and blessed deliverance, that we might for ever fear His great Name, love His precious Truth, and keep his holy Covenant; and though in the short Sunshine of that day of Salvation, He caused both King and People to taste and see the Order, Beauty and Power of that Establishment; Yet, O! how soon did we forget the Works of the Lord? We kepted not his Covenant. *O Lord, the People of thine Inheritance enjoyed it but a little.*

It is not necessary for our design, that we should trace & recount all these sad steps and degrees, by which the Holy and Wise God thought fit to bring back his Church in this Land unto that great distress that thereafter ensued, and caused her to wander long in a Wilderness of great Desertion; nor what were the causes and beginnings of that so horrid Defection (which the Histories of the most partial pens, whatever provocations they pretend to be in the Lords faithful Ministers, cannot purge nor palliat from a meere design of carnal Policy,) carried on by manifest Dissimulation and palpable fraud. It is enough for us, (let the true Histories of these proceedings be examined, and it will

will appear without the help of our observation,) that, as the beginnings of that Defection were no other than the Unfaithfulness of Man, & the inconsistency of the Wisdom of God with the carnal wisdom of this World, and that old opposition and rooted prejudice of the Kings and Powers of the Earth, who have for the far greatest part set themselves, and taken counsel against the Lord and against His anointed; so for the unquestionable confirmation of all that hath been said, either as to the wicked Rise or woful effects of Prelacy in this Church, the Devils part therein was visibly to promote his own Kingdom, by reacting the most palpable and gross Myſtery of Iniquity that can poſſibly be deſcribed: In ſo far as this Apoſtacy ariſing from ſmall beginnings, by fair and ſmooth pretenſions, crafty inſinuations, Court-flatteries, falſe calumnies & ſuggeſtions, open and groſs perjuries, and violent diſorders, according to the working of Sathan; After great and long oppoſition by Conferences, Warnings and petitions, and faithful and conſtant Teſtimonies and ſufferings of the Zealous Witneſſes of our Lord, both unto bonds, baniſhment, and Sentences of Death, againſt the again aſpiring Prerogative & uſurping Prelacy under its ſhadow, did in the ſecret and holy Judgement of God, change the Glory of God and of our Lord Jeſus into the Similitude and Image of the *Roman Beaſt*, turning the Power of Godlineſs unto Formality, his faithful Miniſters into corrupt Hirelings, the Power and Life of Preaching into Flattery and Vanity, the Subſtance of Religion into empty and ridiculous Ceremonies, the Beauty and Purity of the Ordinances into Superſtitious Inventions of Kneeling, Croſſing, Holy Dayes and the like, the Beautiful and Powerful Government of Gods Houſe for the Edification of Souls, to a Lordly Dominion over Conſciences and violent Perſecution of mens perſons; And in a word, the great End of the Glorious Goſpel and its Bleſſed Miniſtry, even the ſalvation of poor ſinners, which is the pleaſure of the Lord, the fruit of the

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travel of His Soul, the Joy of Heaven, the Crown and Glory of the blessed Apostles, and the end of all things, and of the second Appearance of the Great God, into an Empty Title, and specious pretext for the fulfilling of mens lust and pleasures, the establishing of their Power and Tyranny, and the ruine and exterminion of all such as opposed, and mourned for all these Abominations.

Thus, this Work and Kingdom of Darknes did advance a pace, and had almost attained unto its full maturity, of hurrying this poor Land and Nation head long into that Gulf of Confusion, Error and Superstition, wherein to Popery did formerly involve us, when it pleased the Lord, according to His Great Mercy and faithfulness, to remember his Covenant: though we had fearfully forgotten it; and in the midst of that growing darkness and those manifold Confusions, to cause his Spirit to move, & Light to arise upon this Land, about the middle of the Year 1637. Which appearing in the former Power and Glory, did rise from a very small and improbable beginning, even the opposition of a few weak Women, to the introducing and reading of that Carcase of Formality, the *Service Book*, then ready to be imposed, proceed in such an Universal, Vigorous, Regular and Powerful method through the whole Land, without the least mixture and ingredient of force and Violence, but only by these most warrantable and unquestionable meanes of Petitioning, Remonstrating, Protesting, & renewing their Covenant with God & amongst themselves, that before the end of the Year 1638. the Work of God was revived with more Glory and Splendor, than ever formerly it had attained. We know that not only the Renewing of the Covenant, especially with the enlargement explaining the same, in order to the Novations in Worship and Corruptions in Government, whereunto this Church had Apostatized, and the bond of Mutual Defence thereto added; but also their Protestings and joynt Petitionings have been condemned as Seditious and Rebellious:

But

But seeing the same, both from the clear Word of God, the pure Light of Nature, Zealous and Valiant Practices of our first Reformers, and the Lawes and Constitutions of the Realme are clearly warranted; And by the Power & Presence of God were signally approved; and by the supervenient Acts of the King, Parliament, and General Assembly so fully established and confirmed: And seeing that they only were and are condemned by such, as either being the Children of the Devil, filled with all subtilty and mischief, and enemies of all Righteousness, cease not to pervert the right Wayes of the Lord; or by such who for advancement of their own Interests, have sacrificed all Conscience and Reason to Ambition and Covetousness; or by such who in base and open flattery of the King and of the Powers, and neither knowing nor regarding any other Interest or Concernment, than that which dependeth on their Pleasure, do see and serve the same in place of the most high: Or lastly, by such who never did, nor do concern themselves in such enquiries, but affect a pretended Gallantry in *Gallio's* Indifferency, therefore, remitting such as are further desirous of satisfaction, unto the debates and Papers of these Times, and especially unto the late large *Apology*, we shall only mention the steps and progress of the Lords Work, and our Engagements therein, according to our first purpose.

In the beginning of the Year 1638. great multitudes of people consisting of all Ranks, being awakned by the Arbitrary imposing of a Service-Book, more corrupt in some things than that of *England*, and the Book of Canons, and the erecting, and violent exercising of the High Commission-Court, to the preventing of the Pure Worship of God, the utter subverting of all regular Government, and the confounding of all things Divine and Humane, and the destroying of our Civil Liberties; and conceiving the true cause of all the abounding Sins, and imminent calamities of these Times, to be the violation of the National Covenant-

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formerly thrice sworn in the Land, they again most Solemnly, with a very wonderful & gracious mixture of Tears and joy, renew the same almost in all parts of the Land, with the addition above mentioned, to forbear the practice and approbation of all Innovations in Worship, or Corruptions in Government, until the same should be lawfully determined, and that other of Mutual Defence and Assistance, in the prosecution of the ends of that Covenant, against all sorts of persons whatsoever. And in November the same Year, the General Assembly at *Glasgow* determined anent the foresaid novations and corruptions, disproving and erecting under these heads, the five Articles of *Perth*, the Government of the Church by Bishops, the erecting of Prelacy therein, and all the Corruptions flowing therefrom, whereby the Oath of the Covenant is clearly explained and purified.

In the Year 1639 the Prelats being routed, run to Court, stir up the King, *England* and *Ireland* with all their Friends and Popish partakers in *Scotland*, and against the faithful Covenanters, as *Rebellious* and *Seditious* Persons: But they having prepared for their own just Defence, the Lord by His outstretched Armand Power, dispelling all these menacing clouds and imminent storms, doth by a Pacification concluded, reduce a fair calm; The King therein agreeing that an Assembly and Parliament shall be held, & that all matters respectively shall be therein determined. The Assembly sitting in *August* thereafter, the Kings Commissioner being present and assenting, doth ratify the conclusions of the last Assembly at *Glasgow*, and the Commissioner and Secret Council subscribe the Covenant. as it was then explained; and at the Petition of the Assembly, it is enacted to be again subscribed for the Fifth time, by the Body of the whole Land. But no Faith, Honesty, nor Honour binding the Prelats, and a Court by them over ruled; in the Year 1640. the King and Prelats vigorously arm again, and prepare for a new war: But this intended War

So- composed by a new Pacification, and in the mean time ,
ears the Parliament (formerly adjourned until *June 1640*) doth
and, convene at the time appointed , and by their *fourth* , *fifth*
rice and *sixth* Acts fully establish Presbyterial Government ; ra-
Cor- tify the Covenant , with the Addition and Explanation of
ful- the Assembly , and all Acts made thereanent , and abrogat
and the Estate of Bishops , & all Acts whatsoever made in their
ant, favours.

ber Thereafter , in the Treaty ensuing the Pacification , it is
mi- agreed that the Acts past in the last Parliament , with these
pro- to be made in the next Session thereof , shall be published
s of in the King's Name , and have the strength of Laws in all
the time coming : Which Treaty being closed , and the last
ing Session of the above mentioned Parliament sitting in the
rly Moneth of *June 1641*. the King in person being present
among them, and the Oath of Parliament (for maintenance
of Religion in purity as then established, and of the King's
Authority , and the Peoples Liberties according to the Co-
venant ; and for endeavouring by all just and humble
meanes of Union and Peace betwixt the three Kingdomes)
appointed to be taken by that , and all succeeding Parlia-
ments ; being taken , by the second Act thereof , super-
scribed by the President , the foresaid Treaty is amply and
perpetually confirmed , and the whole Articles thereof are
ratified and recorded.

Thus, by all the Security, that either Sacred Oaths ,
or Acts of Lawful and Authorized Assemblies; Ordinances
of King and Council; doubled and re-iterated Pacifica-
tions and Treaties ; Acts of Parliament Enacted and Re-
enacted ; the Kings Authority and Consent being often
and solemnly interposed, both by promise and hand-writ;
And all that either Religion, Truth , Faith , Honour or
Honesty could devise or grant , these Wicked Prelats are
cast out of this Church and Kingdom, Presbyterial Govern-
ment fully established , the pure Worship of God , with
His pure & powerful Ordinances & Ministry restored, and

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in the maintenance and pursuance of all these great Blessings, the whole Land, by many Oaths and most Solemnities, engaged unto the Lord for ever:

By all which Blessings, and the restoring of the Lord's own Ordinances amongst us, as the Work of the Gospel and the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus, in the Conversion of many thousands, were greatly advanced, and the Glory of God, in the abounding of true Piety and flourishing of Righteousness, did eminently shine amongst us; (as the memory of these times in all such as fear God and love our Lord Jesus Christ doth sweetly testify) so all these great things were transacted, to the perpetual shame and confusion of all our calumnious Adversaries, without any diminution of his Majesty's just Authority and Greatness.

As the Power and Glory of the Lord was great in this Land; so the splendor and fame thereof reaching unto other Nations. it pleased the Lord thereby to provoke His People in *England*, at that time grievously groaning under the Tyrannous yoke of Prelacy, and justly alarmed by the imminent fears of prevailing Popery, to set about & intend the like blessed Reformation.

It doth not concern us, to reflect on the Causes and beginnings of that War betwixt the King and Parliament there, nor what were the transactions betwixt the two Kingdoms in order to that Aid and Assistance given by *Scotland*, and how the same was managed: But this is certain, that, upon the Representation of the most just and important grounds, of the maintenance of Religion and Liberty, against the prevailing power of Popery, Prelacy and Tyranny in that Kingdom of *England*; and their most instant and earnest desires for our help and Assistance; and the most rational and clear motives of our own Security, (the Hazard & loss whereof had undoubtedly been the consequence of the Prelats Victory there) this Kingdom was induced in the Year 1643. to enter into that Sacred Bond of the Solemn League and Covenant, never to be forgotten,

con-

For the Kingdome of Christ. 123

containing no other Articles than every ones Sincere and constant endeavours, in their severall places and callings, for the preservation of the Reformed Religion in this Church, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government; the Reformation of the same in England and Ireland, according to the Word of God, and the example of the best Reformed Churches; and the nearest Conjunction and Uniformity of all the three in Truth, Faith and Love; the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, Error and Profanity; the preservation of the rights and Liberties of the People, and of the Kings person and Authority in defence of the true Religion, and the Kingdom's Liberties; the Discovery and punishment of Incendiaries; the retaining of the Peace and Union of the Kingdomes; the mutual assistance and defence of all entering into this League; and the performing of all duties we owe to God, in the amendment of our lives; and in walking exemplarily one before another: And all these in order to no other end, than the Glory of God, the advancement of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ; the Honor and Happiness of the King and his Posterity; and the true Liberty, Safety and Peace of the Kingdom.

This is that Covenant, which in all the controversies it hath occasioned, did never receive a greater confirmation than from the malice and opposition of its adversaries; who in the same Spirit, and with the same Spite, have alwayes persecuted and reproached it, with the same Calumnies of Rebellion, Sedition and Blood, which from the beginning, the Devil hath ever been most active to raise and stir up against the Lord Jesus, his Gospel, Kingdom and Followers. But seeing such only as are blessed, do evite the offence of Truth; and all who truly seek Gods Glory or Love the Lord Jesus, did and still do heartily approve and embrace this Covenant: Though it had brought the Sword not only into Britain, but with the Truth into all the Earth; though it were reproached as unfriend not only to our King, but with our Lord Jesus, to Caesar and all the Kings of the Earth; though it had divided and disturbed not only Realms and States, but with the Gospel, families and nearest

nearest relations ; and had with Paul moved Sedition throughout the whole World , we ought not thereby to be either shaken or offended. We know also, that all the subtilty and malice of Hell have been set on work , and spared no calumny or cavillation , by which either its Words , Matter or Manner might be impugned : But these are so often and fully answered , and without the assistance of any mans Patrociny, by the obvious plainness of its Phrase, the Holiness and Importance of its Purpose, and the Justice and Necessity of its way and Manner , so clearly confuted, that nothing can be added. Only seeing the Constancy of Truth ought not to cede to the Confidence of prevailing Powers , as we have asserted and do hold the subject matter of this League and Covenant to be in it self Holy , Just and True ; so we cannot but disprove the dangerous Method of some , who the better to enforce the obligation of the Oath of God, do suppose the Matter thereof, especially as to that article against Prelacy , to be antecedently Indifferent , and not determined either by the Word of God or any other Moral Precept: Justly apprehending how easily in this light and backsliding time , such suppositions may become positions ; and that the obligation of the Oath of God , now so much violated and little regarded , may be found too weak to secure mens stedfastness. As we are therefore perswaded , and would have all to consider and fix it in their hearts , that this wicked Prelacy and its Hierarchy, are only contrary to the Word of God , to the Practice of the Holy Apostles , to sound Doctrine and the power of Godliness; (under which express consideration we are also sworn to endeavour its extirpation,) but by the sad experience of all Ages in the Christian Church , especially in these our latter times, had been found most pernicious to all Truth and Righteousness , and the main Engine and Device , whereby the Devil hath alwayes laboured, to advance his Kingdom of Darkness; & therefore

fore hath been the great butt and aime, for the overthrow whereof, the great Work of God in this Land, hath been so Powerfully and Gloriously manifested: So do we most constantly hold, that as well this Article against Prelacy, as all the rest contained in this Holy Covenant, were and are antecedently obliging both to King and people, without the supervention of either Oath or promise; and that the rooting out of Prelacy, and the wicked Hierarchy therein so obviously described, is the main duty, in the endeavour whereof, (as most advantageous unto all these great and holy Ends proposed by the Covenant) all the Zeal of the faithful ought to be centred.

As for such profane Juglers, who neither considering this Oath and Covenant as a special Ordinance & blessing of God, whereby we are more effectually stirred up and enabled, to the performance of all the duties of Religion and Righteousness therein contained; nor knowing that this Covenant made with God, and accepted by Him, is also the Lords Covenant with us, for the securing and establishing unto us all the great Blessings and Priviledges therein expressed, and that, as we therein do avouch the Lord to be our God, so doth He avouch us to be His people, Do from the Righteousness and Necessity of its matter, vainly argue the superfluity of any accessory Obligation, and would thence inferre, that the same may be the more easily dispensed with, or renounced: We do only remit them to that Solemn Covenant *Deut. 29: 10. &c.* made there betwixt the Lord and His people, and thereafter so often renewed, only for their greater Engagement to the most necessary duties of Gods express commands.

We come in the next place, unto the manner and Form of this League and Covenant; wherein, not purposing to resume the many debates that have been raised anent it, we shall only take notice, that these old Acts and Laws

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viz. Act. 43 Parl. 6. of Mary 1555. and Act. 12. Parl. 10. Jan. 6. 1585. made against Leagues and Bands contracted without the Kings consent, are now obtruded with the force & lustre of a new Act, cap. 4. of the last Parliament, to condemn the Covenant, as from the beginning unlawful and Rebellious: But as these old Acts, at the time of the entering into this League and Covenant, did then stand explained by the 29. Act. Parl. 2. Charles 1. ratified and authorized by the King himself, in a sense most consistent with the Covenant, and could no wayes render the same from the beginning unlawful, much less could the revival thereof in their greatest rigour, or the superveniency of any other Act thereanent, dissolve the Sacred Obligation of this Oath once lawfully contracted; so the reason of the former answer made to this objection, and the Justice and Equity of that Act. 29. P. 2. C. 1. whereby the same was declared, remaineth in full force, *viz.* *that no League or Bond made by the Subjects for maintenance of Religion, Liberty, and the Publick good of Church or State, was or can be understood, to be prohibited by these old Acts and Laws objected.* Because, as the makers of such Bonds, cannot be reputed to be movers of Sedition, to the breach of the publick peace, (which is the expresse reason and certification of these old Acts objected) so both the King and his Government, being appointed for the preservation of these great ends and Interests, and He himself principally obliged, both by the Command and Oath of God upon him, to authorize all such bonds, Covenants, and other means which may advance the same; It were a gross Paradox both in Reason and Religion, that the Kings neglect of his duty and perverting of his Office, to the overthrow of these ends for which he is ordained, should therefore oblige the People to a sinful Compliance and stupid connivance, to the high Dishonour of the Great God and King of Kings, and the utter ruine of souls, bodies, fortunes, of themselves and their

their Posterity. Its true, it may be and is replied, that this answer and reasoning, doth proceed from an unjust jealousy of Kings, and is founded upon an intolerable presumption in the Subject to censure and judge their actings: But seeing the entering into this Covenant, and into all others which we allow, was so far from proceeding upon an unjust jealousy, that on the contrary, it was in a manner extorted, by the force of the most palpable and rational necessity that can be imagined; and seeing the feeling and discerning thereof, is so far from that criminal presumption alledged, that to disprove it, is in effect to deny both sense and reason, unless our adversaries can prove that notwithstanding thereof, the King is by God the Lord, vested with such an uncontrollable Dominion & Sovereignty, that whatever Violence, Outrage, or Cruelty he commit, the people are obliged by a patience, or rather stupidity greater than that of Beasts, to endure without gainsaying, it is impossible for them to establish the Tyranny that they contend for. But that the World may see, that such objections are only the wicked flattery of selfish men, and how little they do therein either use or regard Reason, in the late Act abovementioned made against Leagues & Conventions, it is declared, that the Explication contained in the *Act. 1640. viz. That such Leagues and Conventions as are made by Subjects, for the preservation of the King, Religion and the Laws, are not prohibited by these old Acts*, is false and disloyal, and contrary to the true and genuine meaning thereof: Which Declaration is not only a naked Assertion, and contrary to the express reason and certification of these old Acts, which is before set down; but so blind and irrational, that in case of an *Interregnum*, or the incapacity of the King to give His consent to any Bond, Meeting or Convention, which in such a case may be absolutely necessary, it leaves no issue or expedient.

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It is not needful here to clear the necessity and advantages, which may induce Subjects to the making of Leagues and Conventions in certain cases, without the consent of the Prince; nor the exigence of these Times for the Covenant we plead for: These things are cleared by undeniable Records, which, all the Wars, Blood and Confusions that thereafter ensued, (flowing either from the perverse and obstinate opposition, violence, and Persecution of the enemies of Truth, or being the effect of Gods Righteous Judgement upon such whose hearts were false, and proved unstedfast in his Covenant,) notwithstanding all the present insulting of the Adversaries doth nothing disprove. Neither do we here resume the above mentioned practices of our first Reformers, for justifying the case in hand, and the explication of these old Acts here obtruded, who, by all their necessary Leagues, Bands and Conventions, never conceived the same to be contraveened: Only we cannot but regret, that as the Act made in the last *Parliament* against Conventions and Bonds, was a fearful step of the present great Apostacy, and directly levelled against the same Covenant, by which the Authors of the Acts themselves were and are indissolubly obliged; so that old Act *Parliament* 10. Ja. 6. cap. 12. 1585. which is thereby ratified and revived, was also one of the woful Acts of the wickedness that then prevailed in the Land, and doth relate to, & is expressly founded upon the 43. Act. *Queen Mary, Parliament* 6. 1555. which, under the colour of discharging Bonds of Man-rent, was by the Queen Regent, then raging in Persecution against the Professors of the Truth, directly intended for the overthrow of the Gospel & Congregation.

We have hitherto only justified the lawfulness, or rather the necessity of the Covenant; as a *League* amongst *Subjects* without the Princes consent, and have not spoken thereto as a *League* with *England*, and the Subjects of an
other

other Kingdom: Because, as the first point is mainly denied by the Adversary; so the same being proven, upon in the same grounds (first, of Just and Necessary Defence of our Selves, Religion and Liberties; *Secondly*, of the assistance that we ow and do expect in case of Persecution for Truth, from all Christians in the bowels of Jesus Christ, the obedience of his new and special command of Love, & the remembrance of that great and last judgement, wherein by this Law, all men shall be judged, without respect to the difference of Nations and Kingdoms; and *thirdly*, upon the ground of the Glory of God, which is the great end of all things, and to which all inferiour duties of Submission and Obedience ought to cede) the Justice and Necessity of the Covenant & League with *England* may be certainly concluded. O! that men, who weighing all things in the ballance of their own selfish Interests and designs, do make the vain and airy enjoyment of Court favour, and the evanishing possession of such advantages, as may be acquired thereby, preponderate and cast the scales, in prejudice of these great and important concerns of the Glory of God, and the advancement of the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus, Might yet be awakened by the terror of that dreadful and glorious Judgement of the last day, to an impartial consideration of that duty, which we ow to all these that suffer and are persecuted for Truth. Surely if not visiting, not relieving and supporting (when it is in our power,) of the afflicted members of Jesus Christ, shall then be the condemnation of the Reprobat, (against which the exception of a contrary command of any King or Prince, or that the afflicted were by men for Truths sake declared Rebels and Traitors, or were of an other Kingdome, shall furnish no defence) Can we in conscience think, that the refusal of Assistance to the persecuted for Christs sake, when instantly thereto required, shall be, upon any of these pretended grounds, excused in that day?

We do not here mention the supervenient consent and

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Authority of the King, by which the alleaged defects, to the acknowledgement of all our adversaries, were clearly purged: Because (though the same will afterwards fall in, as a great accession to the conviction of all Apostats, yet) we bless the Lord who hath bottomed our Faith and Consciences upon more sure and fixed foundations; and who gave his people more evident and gracious testimonies of his favour, power and presence, while they sincerely walked conform to the grounds mentioned, before the Kings assent obtained, than ever since.

The entering into, and taking of this Covenant, was so much the more necessary & Praise worthy in us in Scotland, for several reasons. 1. Because it contains no other than the same Duties and obligations; which were before by us so solemnly Covenanted to in our National Covenant; Neither is the restriction of our Alleagance, supposed to be made therein, any other than the true and righteous qualifications of all such engagements, most consonant unto and approven by our first Large Confession of Faith Chap. 25. Ane the Civil Magistrate; the Kings Coronation Oath recorded Ia 6. pag. 1. cap. 8. and the National Covenant, as it was taken and subscribed both first and last. And though our Adversaries have insulted upon the latter Confession of Faith, as if both our former principles and practices were thereby disproved; yet let the words be considered. *Viz. Infidelity or difference in Religion doth not make void the Magistrats just and Legal Authority. nor free the people from due obedience*, And we are confident, that no sober man will think the acknowledgement of just and legal Authority and due obedience, a rational ground, to inferre that Tyranny over either Consciences or Persons, is thereby either allowed or priviledged; which is all that by us is contended for.

2. Because the same National Covenant did powerfully oblige us thereunto: Not only upon the account of that obstinate opposition, which the perfidious Prelats in England, both

both by raising Wars and breach of Pacification, had plainly testified; the revival whereof, in case of any probable Capacity, we had just reason to apprehend, and by a posterior League, (at that time, a most necessary and probable remedy,) in pursuance of our former engagement, to provide against; but also in respect of that express ground of opposition to the bloody bond of *Trent*, and of the detestation of all the enemies of Gods Church, who thereby conjured themselves against it, contained in the National Covenant: which could not but be a very fair perswasion and strong inductive, to engage in that sacred Bond of the solemn League and Covenant, against that same accursed conjuration, which at that time appeared so active.

3. Because the Oath of Parliament, first taken in the Parliament 1641. the King being present, obliging us to endeavour *the preservation of the Peace and Union of the three Kingdoms*, did indispensibly oblige us to enter in this Covenant, as a most necessary expedient thereto.

Having thus summarily reviewed, both the Matter and Manner of this Solemn and important League and Covenant, we cannot but wonder at the poor Sophistry of such, (especially that more Temporizing then *Seasonable* Casuist,) who delude themselves in so great matters unto such an Indifferency, as to assert, that this Covenant doth as necessarily depend upon the Kings consent for its establishment, as the private vow of a Daughter in her Fathers house, or of a wife under her Husbands power, in things free and arbitrary, though not absolutely in their own disposal, did according to the Judicial Law of the Jewes, fall under the Father and Husbands power of ratifying or annulling: but the simple proposall of these cases, doth hold out such a disparity both as to the Persons, (being only women under power,) the Things in themselves, being free, but at anothers disposal, and many other Circumstances tedious to insist on, and even as to Law it self, by which the case

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is determined, being meerly Judicial, that none who fear the Lord, or mind his Glory in any measure of Sobriety, will daigne it with an answer. And such indeed are the rest of the Cavils and Calumnies, wherewith the Adversaries of Truth have endeavoured to impugn and asperse this Holy Covenant; and are so fully and often answered already, that to account them worthy the resuming and refusing, were in some sort after Vowes to make inquiry.

There is one thing that our Adversaries have frequently objected, which we cannot omit, *viz.* that the Covenants, both National and Solemn League were urged and pressed, both by Church Censures and Civil Sanctions, of loss of goods, sequestration and other arbitrary pains, which hath been heavily complained of, as a great violence done to Conscience: But as it was then too evident, that this Priviledge of Conscience, was for the most part only pretended by such, as had little or no feeling thereof; so the Practice of the preesnt times, doth now fully discover, that what is now so insolently retorted, was never before really scrupled at. But the Lawfulness of the course and practice then used, and the iniquity of this retortion will easily be cleared, if it be considered, 1. that the Nationall Covenant, being a standing, and binding Oath upon the whole Land, and in the Year 1638. only renewed with such an agreeable explanation, as none could or did quarrel, but such as thereby intended to palliate and persist in their preceeding manifest violations, was according to the example of good *Josiah*, (who brought back the People, and Caused *them stand to the Covenant of their Fathers*, 2 *Chron.* 34. 32) most justly commanded, and under the pains due to the breach thereof, ordained to be re-taken. 2. That the solemn League and Covenant containing no other obligations, than what the National doth import, and being a most conducive expedient, both for the securing and prosecuting the ends thereof, and whereunto the National Covenant upon this ground did clearly oblige,

oblige, The pressing of the same League, is warranted not only by the former ground; but from the very bond of the National, became an indispensible Duty: By which reasons, as the former proceedings are clearly justified, so the present practice, (as being a direct and violent ranversing of these things, which were once so righteously and rationally established) is the more condemned. But whatever be the disparity of these cases in the point of Reason, we are sure that light and darkness do not more differ, than the Lenity of these former times, from the Rigour and violence now practized; and that where one then suffered for obstinacy against the Covenant, hundreds do now suffer for their steadfastness therein.

As for these Wars and great commotions, that ensued upon this great Transaction of the Solemn League, we will not thereon insist: Only we are confident, that notwithstanding all the Calumnious constructions of our Adversaries, al such as seek out and have pleasure in the Works of the Lord, will applaud unto the Glory and Righteousness thereof, who, as by the sword of Apostats in the Years 1644, and 1645. He did punish in his Justice, the Hypocrisy and Self seeking of such in this Land, whose hearts were not upright in His Covenant, and thereafter in the Year 1648. did by a prevailing Sectarian Party, restrain and crush the gross and General Apostacy then intended, under an Hypocritical pretext of pursuing the ends of the Covenant, at that time so palpably perverted and abused; so, for the manifestation of his own Glory, and of his Mercy to them that fear him, and did not forget his Covenant, he did intermixe several gracious Intervals of his abundant Compassion; and at length did give unto his Work and people, a full and absolute Victory over that malignant Spirit and Party, that had so long prevailed in the Land, and caused the wickedness of the wicked to cease, and all iniquity to stop its mouth.

Thus in the Years 1649, and 1650. and thereafter, the

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Lord was with us while we were with Him, and while we sought him, he was found of us; but as we did forsake him, so did he also forsake us: By which position, all the mixture and varieties, both of our Acting and Gods Providences in these times, may clearly be resolved.

There was indeed at that time in the Land, not only a party faithful unto God, and zealous for his Name; but also a great Zeal of God, from clear knowledge and full experience, generally and solemnly professed before God & all men in our Publick Acknowledgement Anno 1649. In consequence whereof, the League and Covenant was also by the whole Kingdom renewed the same Year. And in answer thereunto, the Lord did mightily both save & defend us from all our Adversaries: And as he soon subdued our Enemies at *Stirling*, and turned his hand against our Adversaries in the North; and caused the haters of the Lord feign submission unto him; so, for his own Glory, the establishment of his People, and the utter confusion of his Adversaries, he did highly advance his blessed work, by the accession of all these Advantages, with the Defect thereof, it had been formerly calumniated.

The Advantages we here mention are (besides that Publick Acknowledgement then made, and in the defence thereof, the League and Covenant solemnly again renewed and taken, whereby our Engagements were not only doubled, but strongly confirmed) 1. These many necessary & righteous Lawes enacted in the then Parliaments, both for the ratifying the latter large Confession of faith, and the larger and shorter Catechisms, agreed unto by both Kingdoms, and for the restraining & coercing of Impiety & Blasphemy, the encouragement of the Ministry, and for the promoting of Godliness. Amongst which Acts, that of abolishing *Patronages*, deserves a more special and commendable remembrance: Not only because of the many woful Effects and Abuses of Patronage,

nage, as it then was (and now is) exercised, whereby frequently, Godly men, and in some measure qualified for the Work of the Ministry were (and are) unjustly restrained from labouring therein; Many Congregations needlessly continued desolate, without a fixed Ministry; Many Naughty men and utterly insufficient, at the sole arbitrement of Patrons, violently obtruded upon the People, without and against their own consent; Presbyteries constrained (contrary to the Rule of the Holy Scriptures) to ordaine men, whom the People neither choosed, nor could cheerfully receive; Foundations of prejudice and strife, betwixt Pastor and people laid, whereby the one cannot preach, nor the other hear with profit: Symoniacal Pactions often basely made betwixt patrons and the person presented, to the disgrace of the Holy Calling as well as to the sin and shame of the Persons; And the Ministry of too many, in dispensing of Word, Sacraments and Censures, made to depend too much upon the Will and pleasure of Man: But also because, it hath no Precept in the Word of God, nor Example in the old Jewish, nor new primitive and pure Christian Church, to warrant it; because, Intentionally and Natively it spoileth the people of that Right and Priviledge, in Electing their own pastors, which Scripture and Reason alloweth; And because, being the patrons (pretended) Heritage, and therefore, by him vendible to whom he pleaseth, the whole and sole power of presenting of Ministers, planting of Churches, preaching of the Gospel, and settling Maintenance, may be turned over unto, and put into the hands of men, not only profane and Strangers to both Church and Commonwealth, but also professed Enemies of the Truth, yea, Papists or pagans. And therefore, (being in it self a grievous and unwarrantable Burthen; destructive of the Church and peoples Liberties; obstructive of the free course of the Gospel; the Freedom, power and plainness

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ness of the Ministry ; and occasional of much base Flattery and partiality , under which , from the very times of Superstition which introduced it. the Church did heavily groan) it must needs be so much the greater Blessing to be delivered from it.

The second Advantage which the Lords work received, was by that great & long Transaction with the King in order to his return, & Admission to the Government; which at length, after repeated Addresses, many Treaties, and the interposing of Forraign States and princes, produced the Kings Approbation and Allowance of the National and Solemn League and Covenant: Which both by his great Oath unto the Most High God, and his hand writ and Subscription, he most amply assured, promising in the same manner to advance and prosecute their Ends, and to seek and procure the establishment thereof, and of Presbyterial Government, and of the whole work of God in all his Dominions. We know our Adversaries, persisting in their old malice, disown and exclaim upon this Transaction, as most disloyal and insolent for Subjects (whose part is only to surrender and submit,) to require and enter into Treaties with their Prince: But 1. As these reproaches are from the same wicked Spirit, false grounds, and base and carnall ends, which from the very times of Popery, have resisted, and been objected against the Work of Reformation in this Land; so do wee thereto oppose, (in full assurance before God and all the World,) these solid and evident reasons and warrants, whereby not only the Treaties and Transactions with the late King, but all these old Contracts & Agreements betwixt the then powers and people, (which in some sort, are the very foundation of the Protestant Religion in this Realm) are justified and approved: Wherein if there be any disparity, the difference of a King upon his Throne actually Exercing, from a Prince only ascending thereto, must cast the advantage on our side. 2. Seeing there

there is no Voluntary Kingdom, which is not both erected, sustained, and continued by a Fundamental Contract, and no Right thereto so good (though even that of *David* himself and his Posterity, who held the Kingdom; both by immediat grant, and interposed Oath of the Most High,) which is not settled and confirmed by this agreement, 2 *Sam.* 5: 3. 2 *Kings* 11: 17. can any rational man disprove or condemn *Treaties* so naturally antecedent and previous thereto. 3. The reason and necessity of this Treaty is so dependent upon the preceeding War with the last King, in which (as well as in his Kingdoms) this King did succeed him, that, seeing it can have no opposers, but such as therein were enemies, we willingly referre both the cases to the determinations of the same reasons. And as for such, who asserting the Covenant, and the Justice of the long Parliaments War, do nevertheless disprove our procedure in this Treaty, as their mis-information doth not prejudice the Truth; so neither are we answerable for their inconsequence.

The third Advantage which the Lord gave his Work, was by what the King did after his arrival in *Scotland*, both before and at his Coronation, for the greater confirmation of the Covenant and Work of God, and the more strong engaging of himself and this whole Land unto the Lord. Before his Coronation, he emitteth that Declaration at *Dumfermling* sufficiently known by this designation, wherein Professing, and appearing in the full persuasion and love of the Truth, he repenteth (as having to do with and in the sight of God) His Fathers opposition to the Covenant and Work of God, and his own reluctancies against the same, hoping for mercy through the blood of *Jesus Christ*, and obtesting the Prayers of the faithful to God, for his steadfastness: And then protesteth his truth and sincerity in entering into the Oath of God, resolving to prosecute the ends of the Covenant to his utmost, and to have with it the same common friends and enemies, exhorting all to lay down their enmity against the cause

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of God, and not to *preferre Mans Interest to Gods, which will prove an Idole of Jealousy to provoke the Lord, and he himself accounteth to be but selfish flattery, and so forth proceedeth in the most cordial, sincere and assuring terms, to testify his love and zealous resolutions for God, his People and Covenant, and on the other hand his great dislike & detestation of all Persons, courses and Interests contrary thereto.* A Declaration, so full of heart professions, and high attestations of the Great God, that none seriously considering the present times, can reflect thereon without horror and trembling from the Holy Jealousy of the Lord, either for the then deep Dissimulation, or the present unparalleled Apostacy. However seeing the same is so assertive, that no words could add to its assurance, nor no argument less than the present Apostacy, render it to any neutral person suspect of the least dissimulations; sure we are, that the generality of the Kingdom, did thereby obtain all the warrant of the Kings most full and clear assent to, and allowance of the Covenant, that either Law or Reason could require. Thereafter at his Coronation, how the King did again confirm the Covenant, and both he and his people thereby again engage themselves unto the Lord, the order thereof printed and published to the World doth fully declare. In which, these passages are very observable. 1. That the King is desired in Name of the people, jointly to *accept the Crown and maintain Religion*, according to the National and Solemn League and Covenant, to which he declared his cordial assent, *wishing no longer to live, than he might see Religion & this Kingdom flourish in all happiness.* 2. After a Sermon most pertinently, plainly and powerfully preached upon that *2 Kings 11: vers 12, & 17.* (wherein amongst other things, the binding power and force of the Oath of God, and the hazards of the breach thereof are fully represented) the Action commenceth with the Kings most Solemn Renewing of the National and Solemn League and Covenant,

nant, which was in this manner. The King kneeling and lifting up his right hand before the three Estates of the Kingdom, the Commissioners of the General Assembly, and the whole people and Congregation, *by his great Oath in presence of the Almighty God, the Searcher of hearts, he assureth and declareth his allowance of the National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant, promising faithfully to prosecute the Ends thereof, and to establish the same with the Presbyterial Government, and the whole Work of God in all his Dominions.* 3. That, having thus taken the Covenants, the King is presented to the people and their willingness, to have him for their King, demanded; which they accordingly declare. 4. That he did also swear and take the Coronation Oath appointed and recorded *Psalm. 110. 1. Iac. 6. cap. 8.* to which both the Covenants are most consonant *Promising by the Eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, to observe and keep the same.* 5. That when the Sword was put in his hand, he is desired to receive the same *For the Defence of the Faith of Jesus Christ, and of the true Religion according to the National & Solemn League and Covenant, and for the Ministrations of justice; which he accordingly accepteth.* 6. After the Crown is set upon his head, the peoples Obligatory Oath is proclaimed, *whereby they all swear by the Eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, to be true and faithful to the King, According to the National and Solemn League and Covenant.* 7. Being installed and set upon the Throne, he is exhorted by the Minister to remember, *That his Throne is the Lords Throne, 1 Chron. 29: ver. 23. And being a Covenanted King set thereon, he ought under God to rule for God, and especially to beware that he made not the Lords Throne a throne of Iniquity, to frame mischief by a Law, even such mischievous Laws as have been enacted by his Predecessors destructive to Religion, and grievous to the Lords People.* 8. The Nobles of the Land, being called one by one, and kneeling before the King on the Throne, and hol-

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holding their hands betwixt his hands, did *Swear by the Eternal and Almighty God who liveth and reigneth for ever, to be true and faithful to the King, According to the Nat. and Solemn League and Covenant.* 9. The action is closed by a most solid and weighty exhortation, both to King and people to keep the Covenant, and beware of the breach of it, which is enforced by these fearful threatnings and instances recorded in the Scriptures of Truth, against Covenant breakers, particularly these, *Nehem. 5: v. 13.* where *Nehemiah* did shake his lap, saying, *So God shake out every man from his house, and from his labour, that performed not this promise, even thus be he shaken out and emptied, & all the Congregation said, Amen. Jer. 34: ver. 18, 19, 20. & 21.* And *2 Chron. 24: 23, 24. & 25.* With this Pathetic application, *That if they should break the Covenant, God would shake off the Kings Crown, and turn him from the Throne; that he would shake the Nobles out of their possessions, and empty them of their Glory; and would deliver both into the hands of their enemies, who seek their life; That breach of Covenant and Rebellion against God was an old and continued Sin in the Kings house, which God had already severely punished: if therefore the King should not acknowledge Jesus Christ King of Zion, who is above him, but break this Covenant, Gods controversy against the Kings Family would be carried on unto the weakning, if not the overthrow of it.* And lastly, both the King and Nobles are certified, that if the King and they who are engaged to support his Crown, shall conspire together against the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, both the supporters and the supported will fall together. This is that great Action, wherein almost all the Solemnities are so twisted with that sacred Bond, that the World must acknowledge, that never King and people under the Sun, became so expressly and strictly obliged both unto God, one to another, and amongst themselves, as we were and are by these most Sacred Oaths of the Holy Covenants, most indissolubly engaged.

The fourth and last Advantage, was that plenary and last Complement of all Securities whatsoever amongst men, viz. the Ratification of all these preceeding Treaties, Transactions, Engagements and Actions, concluded and enacted by the King, then having attained the Age of 21 Years compleat, and the Parliament fully and freely convened in the Moneth of June 1651. whereby the same did pass into a perpetual Law: And this Covenant which from the beginning was and is the most firm and Indispensible Oath of God, became at length the very Fundamental Law of the Kingdom, whereon all the Rights and Privileges either of King or People, are principally bottomed and secured.

This is the fair side of the Transactions and providences of these times, and the effects of the Lords favourable presence, and the consequence of that Zeal which we have mentioned. O! that we had sincerely minded and walked agreeably to all these Engagements, surely our times should have endured for ever: but seeing both our own backslidings, and the Lord's withdrawing from us do evidently testify against us, let us ascribe Righteousness unto our God, that in the remembrance of all these Judgements wherewith he hath punished us less than our iniquities deserve, we may not only take unto our selves shame and confusion of face, because we have sinned against him, and thereby stop the mouth of all these blasphemies and boastings of the Adversaries of the Lord, and his Holy Covenant, which our Backslidings have so widely opened; but in the thoughts of his faithfulness be encouraged to hope in his Mercy, and for the return of our Departed Glory, although we have rebelled against him.

The Principal Step of our Defection, and the only Rise and Cause of all our Sin and Calamity, we acknowledge to have been no other, than that which is the condemnation of the World, that Light indeed came unto us, but we loved Darkness better than Light, because our deeds were evil.

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evil. For the Lord did cause His Gospel to shine amongst us, in as great power and purity as ever any Nation enjoyed, and by the Advantage of his own Holy Ministry and Government, and the accession of our manifold Covenants and Engagements, did beautify and secure the same unto us; And though that after a long continuance of all these blessings, the Lord by the Ascendant power of his own Spirit and Glorious Presence, did bring the whole Land under these great convictions, mentioned in the conclusion of the League and Covenant. *of our not valuing the inestimable Benefit of the Gospel, nor endeavouring to receive Christ in our hearts, and walk worthy of Him in our lives* The only duty and end of all our Covenants and Engagements, which is in effect God's greatest Delight and Glory in the World, and all our Felicity; And unto these unfained resolutions there annexed, *of Repentance and Amendment*; And lastly thought the Lord from Heaven had both plagued us for, and purged us from these fearful Apostacies and Defections, whereby men of corrupt minds, not holding the head and end of all things, even our Lord Jesus Christ, were both in the Years 1645. and 1648. soon turned aside from their steadfastness in the Covenant, and became Enemies unto God's own Work and Cause, and had therefore stirred us up to the Renewing of our Covenant with God in the Year 1648. with and after a most Solemn Acknowledgement both of the Causes and Evils of these Defections, and most serious detestation of, and resolution against both; Notwithstanding, we say, of all these things, Yet the great Sin and Evil of not valuing, receiving, and walking worthy of our Lord Jesus. and the not directing and improving the great Blessings of His Gospel, Ordinances, Covenants, Victories, & all other Benefits & Enjoyments bestowed on us, for the promoting of the Pleasure of our Lord, and the Establishing of his Kingdom, for the Salvation of Sinners, did still remain. Thence was it, that the generall and great Zeal which then appeared, was so suddenly contrac-

red to a very few, and much remitted in all: And that mens corruptions, turning former Professions into feigned pretensions, and causing many, (in place of the great and only end proposed) to minde Selfish Designes, and Worldly advantages, the Lord was provoked to give up some to the prosecution of these base desires, unto which they had so quickly backsliden; And to abandon others to the delusion of an over credulous Charity: which two Evils did so far prevail in all the Transactions of these Times, that though the Over ruling Providence of the Most High, did bring forth thereof the Advantages which we have already mentioned; yet were Men thereby acted to pursue Treaties, over the belly of most signal Warnings and most pregnant Dissuasives to the contrary, and to conclude Agreements, and accept of Securities in the great Matters of God, and of his Work so long contended for, and far advanced, which no rational man not preferring airy words and professions, and Ink subscriptions, to plain refusal, visible reluctancies, manifest refusings, open counteractings, and strong and continued prejudices, would be satisfied with, in his own private matters of almost the meanest concernment. But though the Lord from heaven did at *Dumber*, testify against both this evil and sinful course, and the great Sin and wickedness that had procured it, and thereafter by many of His faithful Servants did give expresse Testimony & Warning against the same, yet it is still persisted in: And notwithstanding that by a new discovery; after all the assurance contained in the Declaration at *Dumfirling* that could be imagined, the Lord did make it evident at *Glova*, that all these condescensions were only the constraints of Policy, the Backsliding and Delusion of these times did proceed, until, that under a pretence of Necessity, preferring the Arm of Flesh to the Almighty power and Favour of the Most High, and through the perswasion of a *Mock Repentance*, only agreeable unto that *Mock Treaty* whereon

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whereon it depended, we were induced again to break the Lords Commandment and our own Engagement, in joyning with the People of these Abominations; to provoke the Lord to be angry, until he should consume us utterly without a remnant or escaping; and by partaking of their Sins, became apt & ready to partake of their judgments, which the Lord, by the hand of the Treacherous, did suddenly inflict upon us for all our treachery: And thereby, according to his Righteousness and great Faithfulness, as he had brought upon us the blessing; so he also brought upon us the curse of his holy Covenant; and the fears of our own Acknowledgement.

These were our Forsakings and Backslidings, which provoked the Lord also to forsake us, and at length to give us over unto, and leave us in the hands of our enemies; and to lay on our necks that long and heavy yoke of forraign Usurpation, under which, from the Year 1651. unto the Year 1660. we did so grievously groan. The remembrance of which things, doth necessarily oblige us to the Declaration of these things.

1. That as we desire heartily to resume these professions of unfeigned Humiliation (for the undervaluing of the precious Gospel and slighting of our Lord Jesus Christ) contained in our Holy Covenant, wherein all the Land without exception are and were so deeply concerned; so (although in the Narration of the procedure of our sinful and Woful Defection, the particular passages of Self seeking and Over credulous Delusion may import a narrower restriction, Yet) the Lord is our witness, that the pure motive of his Glory, and the Honor and Truth of his work and Covenant, without prejudice to the persons of any, far less of such, whom we are perswaded the Lord both did, and yet doth honour, to be instrumental in his Work, and faithful in his Covenant, (though neither in the former practice, or this present perswasion, we do agree) have induced us to
this

this reflection : which we earnestly obtest, may be looked upon by all, rather as the matter of our mourning than of our censure.

2. That whatever love & sincere respect we retain for such of the Faithful, who (through the Holy and Wise Permission of the Sovereign Lord, by the influence of particular temptations, or of that general and powerful snare of an Evil Time) were carried on to a Sinful Compliance with the Evil Courses thereof : Yet we are persuaded, that the remitting of that Zeal, sincerity and stedfastness, whereunto, in our Solemn Acknowledgement, upon the most powerful motives, we had then lately so seriously engaged our selves; and the more Politick than Pious management of these Treaties and Transactions; wherein the advancement of the Word of God, and prosecution of the Ends of the Covenant so highly pretended, could not sincerely and zealously be intended, by any imaginary security or sinful assistance thereby obtained) but especially the relapsing unto that most sinful conjunction with the people of these Abominations, so solemnly and lately repented for, and resolved against, (which, in stead of being salved, was, by the Constrained, Politick, Dissembled, and Formal Repentance then used, to the mocking of the God of Truth, & scorn of all our Holy Engagements, on all hands mostly aggravated and exaggerated) these evils, we say, were the very foundations of this present Apostacy, & the grounds of the Lords controversy, which hath so long, and yet doth so grievously pursue this Poor Church and Nation. O! that all men would yet at length, after all the evils and warnings which God hath sent amongst us, seriously consider their wayes, take unto themselves shame, and give unto God the glory before the decree bring forth our utter destruction and desolation. Who knoweth but the Lord would repent Himself for His servants, when He seeth our power is gone, and return on high for his own

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Glory, and the Congregation of the poor that compass Him about, and render vengeance unto all his adversaries?

3. That neither the failing nor backsliding of many of the faithful, nor the wicked Hypocrisy & Dissimulation practised on the other hand, in the carrying on, and concluding of these Treaties, whereby the King was brought under the bond of the Holy Covenant, doth lessen or annul his Obligation therein; far less the Security, which the people, especially, such who know not these depths of Satan, did obtain thereby, for their warrant and confirmation; Surely the greatest Aggravation of Perjury, cannot annul the Sacred Obligation of an Oath; nor an intended Falshood, loose the bond of Truth; nor will vile Dissimulation, and the most fearful mocking of God and the whole World, deliver from his Holy Justice and Jealousy, who is a terrible and swift witness against, and avenger of all such abominations. Did the wicked dissimulation and rebellious heart of the Children of Israel, wherewith they entered in Covenant with the Lord, *Deut. 29: 10, to 28.* liberate them from the sin of Apostacy, and all these fearful plagues threatened against it? Did not that Dissimulate promise and engagement of the remnant of the Jewes, made to *Jeremiah cap. 42: 20.* rather hasten & aggravate the punishment of their disobedience, *v. 21. and 22?* All who love Truth or fear an Oath, do no doubt abhorre such wickedness. But the main objection is, that these condescensions were extorted by Force and Fear, which doth excuse the Dissimulation, and annul the Oath. We shall not here insist to clear and refute this cavillation, which others have so fully answered: For as to the position, *That neither force nor fear do cause to cease the obligation of an Oath in a matter merely Indifferent, much less, Holy, Righteous and true* (as the matter of the Covenant is) all yeeld. But that neither Force, Fear, nor any other indirect way

can be alleadged for the annulling of these engagements, both the preceeding Treaties, the just and necessary reasons, and all other circumstances do most evidently confirm; So that the whole World may justly wonder, that these men, who both in profession and practice, do plainly evidence their profane indifferency, and regardless violation of all Oaths, wherein Interests doth not con-
curre, should by the manifest Patronizing of all Perfidy (whereof no instance can be adduced in the breach of any treaty, wherein the stronger and weaker did ever compose any matter of Right, which is not more justifiable) and the shameful disgracing of the King himself, (whom neither Conscience, Honor, Honesty, nor the example of his Father could teach the constancy of the most mean and abject of his Subjects,) should plead & pretend to rational pretext for the present Apostacy, and not rather consent themselves, to say with the King in one of his Declarations, emitted shortly after his return to England, *that it is well known by what abuse meanes His Majesty was adduced to make & publish that Declaration at Dumfermling*, without any more special condescendence, which is impossible. But oh! that the World did also know & consider all the reiterated Oaths & Subscriptions, high & Solemn Attestations. Free and unrequired Professions Fearful Execrations, made before God, Angels and Men, both in Publick, upon the Throne, under the crown, in plain Parliament, and also in Private Conferences, which many yet alive can sufficiently attest; by which this poor Church & Nation was insnared, & precipitated into all the Sin & Misery, that since the Year 1650. unto this day, hath afflicted us. However the Lord, who seeth & heareth, doth also consider, to require it, and the violence done to himself in many of his suffering members, who partly even in the conscience of the very things, which they that are mostly therein concerned, do mock at, dare not prostitute their

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Consciences in an ambulatory Compliance, with the wicked Apostacy in these times.

4. We cannot but observe, that after the prevailing, and during the time of the *English* usurpation, these only, for the most part, remained mindful of, & faithful to the King, who were faithful and stedfast in the Covenant; when as these, who formerly did, and at present do pretend so highly for the King, in prejudice both so Jesus Christ, and the Holy Covenant, did in their slavish compliance, abandon all Allegiance and Honesty, to complement the then Powers, for the promoting of their own selfish designs, which is the only bond of all their Engagements, and rule and aim of all their Actions. And though many of them do now pretend to have been sufferers, yet it is well known, that if they had had the half of these temptations, which the Faithful upon the account of their allegiance did constantly resist, the Kings Interests for their part, had been for ever forgotten, as it was by many of them openly renounced and abjured; And that the main reason of their then seeming and pretended Loyalty, was the improbability of credit with, and acceptance from the Usurpers, because of their known Naughtiness.

Having thus declared the Lords great Work and Glorious presence amongst us, in all these Mercies and Judgements which he shewed upon us, and these strange Vicissitudes and Alternations, sometimes of his grace & power, engaging us with heart, and hand unto himself, sometimes of our own hearts wickedness and Unstedfastness, again causing us to apostatize and backslide from his Holy command and Covenant, which, during the space of an hundred years from the Year 1560, have in the Holy and wise Providence of God passed over us; that by all these great Temptations, which our eyes have seen, and the Signs and wonders which he hath wrought, we might know, that the Lord is our God, and Jesus Christ
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our King; and that by all these things, he only went about to establish us for a peculiar People unto himself, in the glorious light of his Truth, and Beauty of his holiness, far exalted above many other Nations. We are now come to the Year 1660, wherein though the Lord was pleased according to his glorious Sovereignty, by his own immediate hand, to break the yoke of our Oppressors, restore our Covenanted King, Lawes and Liberties and Interests, not only to cede unto, but unanimously to conspire for this blessed Restitution; yet how evidently hath it since appeared, that the Lord had not given unto us an heart to perceive, eyes to see, nor ears to hear, unto that very day.

We need not here resume the Kings most Solemn and Indissoluble Engagements, wick we have so lately mentioned, nor add that after *Worcester* fight, and from beyond Sea, he did confirm by private letters to persons of unquestionable credit, that he was, and through the Grace of God would continue, the same man that he had declared himself to be in *Scotland*; nor that it was the conscience of that clause of the Covenant, relating to the maintenance of his Person and Authority, which during the times of Usurpation, did retain the sence and love of his Interest, so fresh and deeply rooted in mens hearts; Nor that the publick owning, publishing and reprinting thereof by the then Parliament in *England* in *March* 1660. was the first publick Act that durst or did appear in his favours; Nor lastly need we remember that Letter written and directed by the King, after his return to the Presbytery of *Edinburgh* and this whole Church, wherein he declares himself resolved, by the grace of God to protect and preserve the Government of the Church of *Scotland* as it is settled by Law without violation; Seeing that though according to its then State and posture, such a Solemn and Publick Assurance might have been reputed a perpetual Security; yet the whole strain of the Letter, is such as rendeth on-

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ly to divide the whole Ministry, and to abuse the greater part of them: And particularly, the altering & suppressing of that most fixed and certain ground of his Engagement, even the Word of God and the Holy Covenant, for that of *Law*, which is but frail and moveable, did even then discover to many, that latent Dissimulation and Instability, whereby others were either weakly or willingly deluded. The thing we observe is, that both King and peoples Obligations were not then greater, than the opportunity appeared to be most happy, for the accomplishing of the Lords Work, the making of his name great and one in all these Nations, and the Nations happy and high above all Nations in name and in praise, & the establishing of the King & his posterity upon the Throne in glory and prosperity. & that the owning of, & adhering unto the Solemn League & Covenant, our *Magna Charta* of Religion and Righteousness, had both in the persuasion of all sober men, and even in the conviction of the greatest part of our Adversaries, infallibly produced, & effectuated all these blessings.

But Oh! how suddenly and strangely was this blessed appearance overclouded, the expectation of all the Godly disappointed, the joy and peace of all corrupted & marred, and this Land reduced unto this present so woful desolation and sore distress, which though the groans, tears, and the Blood of the Persecuted, the cry of Violence and Oppression, the Desolation and Profanation of Gods Sanctuary, the reigning power of Darkness, the Pride, Rage and Blasphemy of Perjury and all Profanity. which hath filled the Land, and the dreadful Wrath of the most Holy and great God, which both burneth round about, and hangeth over it, do sufficiently make manifest, yet for our greater upstirring to consider and lay to heart, that all these evils are come upon us, because our God is not amongst us, and what the heat of this great Anger meaneth, and also for the clearing of the Innocency

cency and Testimony of the Lords sufferers, we do shortly exhibite the violent course of this precipitant Defection.

The King being returned & re-established in May 1660. the Antichristian Spirit of Prelacy, ever enemy to the Gospel and Kingdom of our Lord Jesus, and the Holy Covenant whereby the same are promoted, taking occasion from these many troubles and confusions, which the opposition and false heartedness of many in the same Covenant, did principally provoke the Lord to inflict upon the lands, and advantage from the proneness of mens power to decline unto Tyranny, and their corruption to all licentiousness; did first most falsely and atrociously slander the Covenant as the Bond of all Iniquity, Rebellion and Confusion; which prejudice being enforced with many apparent advantages that then did attend it: did so suddenly and strongly spread and root it self in the hearts of our Nobles, Rulers, and the generality of the Land, that, without so much as seriously reflecting upon their former so Solemn Engagements, Sacred Oath, Publick Professions, Vigorous Actings and Appearances for the Cause and Covenant of the Lord, without any consideration of Conscience, Honesty, or Honor, which so great and sudden a mutation from their former wayes, though they had been as wicked, as in effect they are true and righteous, did certainly call for in sober and earnest Repentance, they with the concurrence of such vile Sycophants and treacherous persons in the Church and Ministry, as the worldly wealth and power of Prelacy had wickedly debauched, set themselves in a most determined and resolute Fury, whereinto all their former zeal for God is by the malice of Satan suddenly corrupted, by the plain force of Power, and colour of Authority, whereunto they had now attained, to deface and overturn the whole Work of God, raze its foundations, annul His Covenants, repeal all Acts made in their favours, incapacitate and persecute all opposers, and lastly to efface and dissolve all sense and bond of Conscience,

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ence, by which this fearful course of Apostacy, might be in the least, checked or controlled.

We shall not here premise any thing, for clearing of the Unlawfulness of the succeeding Acts and Deeds, whereby this Apostacy was carried on, and for the loosing and freeing of us from all obligation of Obedience thereto, or Compliance therewith: Any who can but suppose, that not only a whole Parliament but also all men are, and have often been found liars; and compare impartially the things present with the things that are past, must necessarily conclude, that all these Acts and Deeds of Defection were and are Gross Perjury and Wickedness, and that so long as that maxim shall hold, *that we ought rather to obey God than Man*, they can never be binding either in Conscience or Reason.

Seeing therefore that the only Rule of these Counteractings and overturnings, was to destroy that which the Lord had so gloriously planted, and to loose that whereunto we were and are indissolubly obliged, referring our selves to what is already said, for vindicating the Lords Work and our Holy Covenants, we proceed to lay forth the Sinfulness and Wofulness of this Defection, as follows

1. In *July 1660.* by immediate clandestine warrants, without any cause signified or citation given, the Lord Marquess of *Argyle* and some other Gentlemen, (who were conceived to have been instrumental in the former Work of God, and that they might be of influence for obstructing of the then designed overthrow thereof (were attached and committed close Prisoners.

2. In *August 1660.* the Committee of Estates appointed by the Parliament 1651. being again set down, the very first day of their meeting, do violently seise upon several faithful Ministers, peaceably and quietly assembled together, and employed in the drawing up of a monitory Letter to the King, in the most rational and dutiful manner, and for the most important and necessary Ends, of Gods
Glory,

Glory, and the Kings service, that can be imagined, as the Letter it self set down at large in the *Apologeick Narration* doth testify. And though this duty and employment was no other, than what the meanest subject in the most private capacity might, and all were indispensibly obliged to have done; yet those Ministers and one Gentleman with them, are therefore instantly without hearing, committed Prisoners.

3. This Committee proceeding to prepare for the succeeding Parliament, (which was all its work and design) the Parliament sitteth down the 1 day of January. Where, having taken the Oath of *Supremacy*, without respect to its due limitation contained in the 114. *Act. la. 6. Parl. 12. 1592.* then standing unrepealed; and exalting the Kings prerogative, upon the alleaged Warrant of the *Word of God and Laws of the Land* (but in effect directly contrary to both) above all Offices, Parliaments, Laws, Leagues, Conventions, Peace and War; and likewise upon meer assertions and alleagances in place of declaring upon known and certain grounds [which is all that any Parliament can lawfully do] directly Innovating the Fundamental Law and Constitution of the Kingdom, and thereby making the Kings Throne, the foundation of all the succeeding Perjury and Apostacy; They spoil and divest, first, the *Solemn League and Coveant*, and then the *National Covenant, Presbyterial Government*, and the whole Work of God, of all legal warrant and Authority; Declaring all *Acts and Practices made and standing in favours thereof, to be void and null*: And by the same great *Act re- seissory*, they revive and reinforce all the corruptions and Superstitions of Crossing, Kneeling and the like, introduced by any Parliament since the Reformation. As the *Acts* of the first Session of the Parliament do clearly testify.

Although that these *Acts* have been and are, both in themselves and in their effects, just cause of great astonish-

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ment and mourning to all the Faithful in the Land; yet when we remember that height of Wickedness and Profanity that then abounded, and the false, flattering, & perjurious Sermons & practices, by which the Parliament was thereunto instigated, but most of all, that Act that then passed for an Anniversary Thanksgiving; wherein, as if we had been delivered to commit all this great Wickedness, the Spirit and Work of the Lord are heinously blasphemed and calumniated, as the only Author and Cause of all the Blood, Bondage, Usurpation, Rebellion, Rapine, Violence and other Evils, that either the malice and wickedness of men had caused, or God in his Righteous Judgement had therefore permitted or inflicted; and the Ranversing of our Blessed Reformation, Holy Covenants, and the Righteous Laws whereby they were established, accounted the Restitution of Religion, Righteousness, and Liberties; And the 29 of *May*, as most *Auspicious*, appointed for the yearly commemoration thereof. [a day, the profane Institution whereof cannot be better demonstrated; than by its more profane observance and celebration ever since practised] These things, we say, being considered, do justly add horror to our astonishment and trembling unto our mourning. But that their practice might be also consonant to their Acts and Statutes, and, by cutting off or laying aside its most eminent Opposers, the return of Prelacy might be more effectually promoted, in the same *Session of Parliament*, not only was that Innocent & Faithful one, *Mr Guthrie*, (singled out & signally honoured by God, to bear testimony to the Kingdom of His Son Jesus Christ, His Cause & Covenant, [for no other fault than his faithfulness therein, and his Declining the Kings usurped Authority in prejudice of the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus, & the privileges of his Church, clearly warranted by 14. Act, *Parl.* 12. 14. 6. then standing unrepeal'd, & by a great cloud of faithful Witnesses, who in like manner did testify a-

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gainst this Usurpation) cruelly slain and put to death; But also, under the colour of certain Epidemick crimes, wherein the Sovereignty of Divine Providence, more than any mans malice, had involved the whole Land, others who had been eminent in the Work of God, particularly the Marquess of Argile, were condemned to death, and forfeited; And several other Faithful Ministers, besides these who were at first imprisoned by the Committee of Estates, were without any cause signified, imprisoned, confined, or otherwise vexed and incapacitated.

4. The rise and reestablishment of this Antichristian Prelacy being thus prepared, in the interval after this first Session of Parliament, the King nominateth and presenteth Bishops; & four of them being called to Court, are there Reordained and Consecrated: And that in such a manner, as doth clearly inferre their disowning & renouncing their former Ministry, and their Warrant and Mission thereunto. In consequence whereof, all the Ordinary meetings of Presbyteries & Synods are discharged, untill they should of new be licenced and Authorized thereto by the Bishops now nominated and appointed, and, to the effect that matters might the better succeed, several of our Faithful Ministers, upon groundless suspicions, and for refusing of the Oath of Supremacy arbitrarily and rigorously imposed, without so much as admitting such qualifications, as no Christian ought or can deny, are some of them Banished & others confined.

5. The second Session of this last Parliament sitting in May 1662. by their first Act, they restore and reestablish Prelacy in all it's pretended Rights, Dignities and Priviledges. but in effect, in its real Usurpations and Corruptions, And for the better settling thereof, and evident declaring to the World, how Erastian and Antichristian this Woful Government is. both in its Rise, Designs and Effects, as by this Act, the Restitution thereof is expressly founded upon the King's Supremacy, as being an inherent Right in the Crown

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Crown for the disposal of the external Government of the Church. So it also declared, that *whatever the King shall determine with the advice of the Bishops and such of the Clergy as he shall nominate in the external Government of the Church, shall be valid and effectual, without any other Proviso than that the same be consistent with the Laws of the Realm.* But the Absolute Complement of all Wickedness and the Height of Usurpation, above all that ever the Papacy it self aspired unto, is that which followeth, whereby the King and Parliament, for clearing all scruples which may occur from former *Acts* and Practices, do rescind all former *Acts*, by which, the sole and only power of Jurisdiction within this Church, doth stand in the Church, and in the Meetings and Assemblies thereof; and all *Acts* of Parliament and Council, which may be interpreted to have given any Church power, Jurisdiction, or Government to the Officebearers of the Church, their respective meetings, other than that which acknowledgeth a dependence upon, and subordination to the Sovereign Power of the King as supream, and is to be regulated and authorized in the exercise thereof by the Bishops, who are to put order to Ecclesiastick matters, and to be accountable to the King for their Administration; And the foresaid 114. *Act Parl.* 12. *Ch. 6.* whereby the Priviledges, Power and other essentiall Censures given by God to the spirituall Office bearers in His Church, and warranted by His Word are ratified, is even in so far and totally cassed and rescinded. And that the World may know how presumptuous and absurd this Usurpation is, which cannot be justly conceived without an instance of its effects, we here subjoyn that 4 *Act. Sess.* 3. of the same *Parliament* for the constitution of a National Synod, wherein the King is made soveraignly and properly to constitute this Assembly, both as to the Appointment of its Members Constituent, and of its constant President; the absolute regulation of things there to be proposed (which are declared to be *only such as He shall please to signify,*) the determination and limitation

imitation of his Decisions, which are to be agreed to by the President as well as the major part, and providing that they be not contrary to the Prerogative or the Laws of the Realm, And lastly, as to the necessity of the King's presence in person or by his Commissioner, and of his Ratification and Approbation, without which no Act or Deed is to be of any force. Now let the World consider, what he could have done more in the constitution and regulation of his own Court of Exchequer: And if he hath not done all, as to the constitution of this Court, (immediately depending upon our Lord Jesus Christ and his sole Authority) which He Himself hath done or possibly could do; by what warrant or rule, He who is King of Kings will require. We shall not here stand to examine these Acts according to former Laws, Oaths and Engagements, hereby most fearfully violated and contemned; This is a strain of wickedness above all that former times could imagine. O! that God would speak to the Authors, but not in his wrath, and as he hath set his only Son upon his holy hill of Zion; so he would cause them to fear his displeasure, that they may yet be wise and instructed to kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and they perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little. Surely to define, that the sole Power and Jurisdiction of this Church, doth not stand within the same, but in some thing without beside our Lord Jesus; and that the same is fountain'd in, and derived from the King; and that all Church-Officers in all Church matters, are accountable to him, who is neither thereto Gifted nor Called, is to set the King upon our Lord Jesus his Throne, and a high derogation from, and reflection upon him, who has builded the Temple of the Lord and bears the Glory, and sits and rules both as King and Priest upon his Throne; *Who*, more worthy than Moses, was faithful and perfect as a Son over His own House; and therefore did not leave his Church destitute, of any necessary and proper Officer or Assister, when neither King nor Prince was so much as members thereof; and lastly,

lastly, it's a plain Perversion in stead of Performance that Promise made to the Church, *Isai. 49. 23. That King should be its Nursing Fathers*, where in place of Dominion there Submission is expressly enjoined, *they shall bow down thee with their face toward the Earth*. We know that this empty Notion of External Policy, is vainly pretended to colour the matter: But seeing whatsoever can be meant by external Policy, even as to outward decency and Order, is either particularly determined by our Lord Himself and his blessed Apostles, or under the definition of General and Evident Rules left unto the Churches arbitrament, whereby the King (being no Church-Officer) upon a double account is clearly excluded; and seeing that under the pretence of this External Policy, the grearest and most superstitious Novations in the pure Worship of God, and the greatest Corruptions and Abuses both by the appointment of new Officers in the Church of Christ without His own warrant and the usurping and perverting of the Power of Spiritual Censures in the Government of Gods House, may be and have been introduced. we doubt not, but all rational men do see the delusions of such vain pretences. And certainly since the *Act* it self doth proceed, to grant the King all the *Power in and over both Ecclesiastick Causes and Persons*; that can be imagined, it would be but ordinary ingenuity in our Adversaries, plainly to assert, that the King is the Great Apostle and Vicegerent of our Lord Jesus Christ, in and over His House: Although they should not only appear herein destitute of any better warrant, than this present *Act of Parliament*; But most plainly to justify all the Usurpation, that ever the Pope or Antichrist can be charged with.

6. Bishops being thus restored and admitted to sit and give voice in Parliament, this Mixture and the power of their Antichristian Spirit doth quickly exert it self: And without regard to the nature of Parliamentary and all Civil Powers (which are no wayes conversant about things and perswasions only Internal, and meerly appertaining to con-

conscience, or to the Word of God, which is the ground and warrant, upon which all Power whatsoever being only Declarative, in matters of this kind, ought certainly and expressly to proceed,) they procure a Dogmatick Act declaring these Positions, *That it is lawful to Subjects for Reformation or necessary Self defence to enter into Leagues, or take up Arms against the King, and such like, to be Rebellious and treasonable; and particularly that the National Covenant, as it was explained in the Year 1638, and the Solemn League and Covenant were, and are in themselves Unlawful Oaths, and were taken by, and imposed upon the Subjects of this Kingdom, against the Fundamental Law & Liberties thereof.* (Which neither they nor all the invention of Hell is able to condescend upon or instruct) and therefore, out of the plenitude of their power, (as much as ever any Pope pretended to) they loose the Obligation of Conscience, and free the Subjects of their Engagements: And further, to compleat this their Wickedness, they appoint a Declaration of this High impiety, to be signed by all in Publick Trust, that none may be admitted to, or exerce the same, except they receive in their right hand or in their foreheads this their accursed mark. O! Lord our God, thou art of purer eyes than to behold Evil, and canst not look on Iniquity: Wherefore lookest thou on them that deal treacherously, and holds thy tongue when the wicked devour the man that is more righteous than he? Yet surely O Lord thou hast ordained them for judgement, and O mighty God, thou hast established them for correction. Can the World believe, that a whole Nation in its most National Capacity, including King, Parliament and the body of the People, should after most clear and evident convictions, and signal Manifestations of the Glory and presence of God, in the most important and holy Concernments of all Truth and Righteousness, most solemnly (as it were) to day engage themselves by Oath unto the Lord, and to morrow, without so much as seriously remembring Gods Holiness and

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terrible Jealously, either against these that break his Holy Covenant, or wickedly profane his Name by taking it in vain, at once without any reason or probable motive rendered therefore, despise, contemn and trample the same Holy and Great Engagements under foot, and others to the like Wickedness and Impiety? If this tend unto, or shall prove effectual for the preservation of his Majesties Person, Authority and Government, as this Act and statute is intituled, then surely he may break this Covenant and prosper. But this is not all, for these men supposing by this Act, that the Work of God was utterly subverted and overthrown, they provide also against the fears of its revival, by declaring *all such gatherings and Petitions that were used in the beginning of the late Troubles*, though the same be no other than that common priviledge of all men, which Slavery it self (much less Subjection) doth not take away, *to be unlawful and seditious*: And further do statute and enact *that no person by Writing, Printing, Praying, Preaching, or malicious and advised speaking, express or publish any words or sentences to stirre up the people to the dislike of the Kings Prerogative and Supremacy, or of the Government of the Church by Bishops, or justify any of the deeds, Actings or things declared against by this present Act.* By all which, not only the Security of Religion and the Liberty of the Subject is utterly subverted, by prohibiting of the lawful, most necessarily and only means of asserting thereof, in case the same should be invaded; but we are also denied and prohibited the licence, so much as to mourn and pour out our prayer unto God, either apart or one with another, for all this Horrid Apostacy. or our heavy persecutions for non compliance therewith; So that the most innocent of all remedies, Petitioning and Prayer; & also the meanest and last of all comforts, even the Tears and Complaints of the afflicted, (which God and Nature hath hitherto placed beyond the reach of all eruelty) are now severely forbidden.

7. By the *third Act* of the same Session of Parliament, under the pretence that Patronages, being the just and proper right of these concerned, were unjustly abolished in the Year 1649. notwithstanding that the same were only, in so far as they were burthensome to the Church of God, & obstructive to the Work of the Gospel, then abrogated; and in lieu thereof, the civil Interest and benefit of Patrons more amply extended and secured; yet on purpose that they might cast out and remove such faithful Ministers, as notwithstanding all the wicked Acts and practices then made, for the overthrow of the Work of God and Presbyterial Government, might have by their steadfastness (at least) put some demur to this impetuous Defection; they statute and ordain, that all Ministers who entered to the Cure of any Parish, in or since the Year 1649. have no right unto, nor shall possess any benefice or stipend for that same current Year 1662. or any Year following, but decern their Kirks and Benefices *Ipso Jure vacant*: And then under pretext of favour, they clearly discover the design and snare intended, in declaring that every such Minister who shall obtain the Patrons Presentation and Bishops Collation, betwixt and the twentieth of September then next following, shall have right to his Church and Benefice, as if at his entry he had been lawfully presented, otherwise the Act to stand in force against him. By which means this same Parliament in their first Session having enacted, that no Patron should present, or Minister Presented have right, except they should first take the Oath of Supremacy, the very body & strength of the Ministry of this Church were reduced to this sore Dilemma, either to take that Oath of Supremacy, which both by expresse Acts and clear Practices, was now declared and interpreted to be the very height of Papacy, and root of Prelacy, and by accepting of Collation, to acknowledge these perfidious and usurping Prelates, or to lose and be cast out of the Ministry, like as, *de facto*, 300. and upwards of the faithful Ministers, were by vertue of this

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Act shortly thereafter outed and violented from the Exercise of their Ministry.

8. The Prelates not having attained their full intent by this last Act, do further prosecute their design of casting out, and incapacitating all such as either remained or might rise up to oppose their wickedness, and therefore they procure, 1. an Act of Parliament without either Citation or Reason alleaged or rendered, against the faithful Ministers of *Edinburgh*, (who, being eminent lights, were also from the advantage of the place apprehended as more eminent opposers,) discharging them of their Ministry, and ordaining them to remove themselves and families out of the City, after the 8. of *September* then next to come. 2. By the fourth Act of the same second Session of Parliament, to the effect that not one faithful Minister might remain to witness against their Detraction; they statute and enact, *that all Ministers, for Testifying their acknowledgement of, and compliance with the present Government by Prelates, keep and observe the Bishops Visitations and Diocesan Assemblies, and be assistant to them in all Acts of Church Discipline, as they shall be required, under the pain for the first fault of Suspension from Office and Benefice, and of Deposition if they should not amend.* We are not here to redargue such lukewarm Neuters, as, by the subtilty of a vain distinction deceiving and being deceived, under the pretence of innocent submission, do actually Assist, Partake, and Comply with that wicked Prelacy, which they are sworn to Extirpat; and at best, can only pretend to keep the Covenant by that *detestable Neutrality*, which they have therein abjured; Their growing Backsliding will quickly declare and free them of this imputation of Neutrality. Our regrave is for the faithfull, who are thus by the Perjury and violence of such, who of all men ought most to patronize them, not only outed of the Ministry by Deprivation from Benefice or stipend, but declared by a Parliament, a Civil Court, deposabable from their Spiritu-
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tual Office, as inconsistently and absurdly, as if the same Secular persons, who were authors thereof, had by the same Act stept into their pulpits. 3. By the same last Act, in imitation of *Julian* the Apostat, who found not a more effectual and Devillish invention for suppressing and destroying Christianity than the shutting up of their Schools and Colledges for learning, they ordain for the poysoning of all the springs and fountains thereof, that none teach or rule in an University or Colledge, except they both take the Oath of Supremacy, and submit to, and own the Government of Prelacy, and that none be permitted to teach any School, or to be a Pædagogue to Children without the Prelates licence. 4. By the same Act, they not only prohibit any to Preach in publick or in families without the Prelats licence; but advancing and pursuing their malice and persecution unto these very Sanctuaries of rest and refuge, which even in former times, (when the proud were called happy, & such as wrought wickedness were set up, yea they that tempted God were delivered,) the Lord did provide and reserve for his Own, wherein they that feared him, & thought upon his Name, spoke often one to another, and the Lord hearkened and heard it; they under the pretence, lest the People should thereby be alienat from their *Lawfull Powers* (as they call them) who in effect are Wolves and Thieves, discharge all Private Meetings in houses for Religious Exercises, which might tend to the prejudice of the publick worship in Churches: Under which qualification, all Christian Fellowship and Society, amongst such who cannot overcome their just aversion from these Churches and publick Meetings, which these Apostat Prelats have prophaned and polluted, & whereunto they have wickedly intruded, are prohibited and reproached.

9. By a Proclamation emitted this second Session of Parliament, they again enjoin the observance of that Anniversary Holy Day, the 29. of May, *even the Moneth and*

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Day which they had devised of their own heart for a feast unto the People : And to the effect they might the more infallibly attain their purpose of Outing all faithfull Ministers, they subjoin the certification of *Deprivation of Benefice*, or Stipend against all such who should not, (because in conscience could not) observe it, like as *de facto*, severalls, who could not in conscience satisfy themselves either as to the Authority or Reason of the appointment, are therefore without Citation or hearing, Outed of their Benefices and Stipends for that Year; and the same either immediately ingathered by the common Collector, or gifted to some other.

10. In the same Session of Parliament, pretending that the whole Land, (a few only excepted,) were notoriously and heinously involved in the crimes of Treason and Lese-Majesty, through no other cause nor occasion, than our most Necessary, Righteous, and Lawful entering into the Solemn League and Covenant, and prosecuting the holy ends thereof, once so signally owned and countenanced by the Lord, and so fully Authorized by all the Law and Security that can be imagined (for, as for the *English* Usurpation, few were guilty of Compliance therewith, who were not also most forward in this Apostacy, and the very vilest and worst of such had been declared an honest man by an expresse and particular Act of the same Parliament) they appoint a packed close Committee, wherein generally the faithfull to the number of about 800, (not adding a hundred more, who by private resentment, or upon some other prejudice were listed in this roll) without citation or any cause signified, or any manner of trial taken, were most arbitrarily Fined, and for the most part in such pecuniary mulcts and summs, as it pleased the malicious suggestions of the delators to impose, and in many particulars so absurdly, that sometimes the same person was found twice fined under diverse stiles in diverse Shires, and others were left blank either in the Name or Sirname, who might be filled

filled up either for one person or another, as the best conjecture should determine; and others were fined, who were dead long before, or were Infants, and Minors under age, and others who to this day could never be found. If this be the righteous judgement which the Lord doth require, let the world declare. Surely this Act is such as hath no precedent nor fellow, except that other Act of *Billeting*, whereof, as the Power and Interest of some persons against whom it was intended, have by an after Act sufficiently discovered its Irregularity and absurdity; so untill the like discovery as to other Acts may be obtained, it may evidently enough declare what manner of Power and Reason did over-rule this Parliament: But these two Acts being past, the Parliament proceed to declare by their Act of *Indemnity* the Kings special Grace and Goodness, in pardoning such whom only the Parliaments own Apostacy, and unparalleled Rebellion against the God of Heaven, made criminal, excepting for the most part only such who were most Innocent.

11. This Session of Parliament being ended, the Council go about the execution of the Acts therein concluded, especially against Ministers not obtaining Presentations, and by their Act and Proclamation at *Glasgow* emitted, the 1. day of *October* 1662. they command all such Ministers to remove themselves forth of their respective Parishes, betwixt and the -- day of *November* then next ensuing, discharging them thereafter to exercise any part of their Ministerial Function within the same. what and how great the iniquity and rigour of this Act is, we will not stand to declare. Certainly, he who commanded his Apostles to pray that *their flight might not be in the Winter*, did regard and doth remember the great distress which many poor families then sustained, who, being deprived of livelyhood, turned out of doors, indigent and very numerous, might according to the cruelty of their adversaries have starved and perished. We need not here insist upon the particular steps, whereby

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the restless jealousies of these wicked Prelats, did urge forward and advance this Persecution, by their impe- trating of reiterate Acts and Proclamations, until they obtained that last Act and Proclamation, concluding and adjudging all these Ministers unto such a nice and impossi- ble Confinement, which not only the necessity of hu- mane frailty, and its dependance upon many indispen- sible conveniences, do render more rigid and intolerable, than the most strict imprisonment, and the most barbarous banishment; but also the most curious skill of the most exact Geographer can scarce make practicable. It is enough for us to note, that having, by a posterior Proclamation, extended the same pains unto all Ministers outed upon whatsoever ground of non-conformity to this present course of Apostacy, (in which condition all the faithfull Ministers in *Scotland*, a very few excepted, are included,) there were never so many Innocent and Faith- ful Ministers, in any Christian Church at once and for such a cause reduced to such hardships, fears, and uncer- tainties, and that by such persons, who not only are as deeply and solemnly sworn and engaged as they are, in the same Cause and Covenant, for which they suffer, but by such, who once (some of them at least) appeared to have had the zeal of God, so that if it had been possible they would have pluckt out their own eyes, and have given them to such, whose Enemies they now are, only because they tell them the truth: Such is the fearful snare and prevailing Power of Apostacy; but God seeth and telleth their wanderings, and putteth all their tears into his bottle. Having, because of the necessary con- nection of these things, thus represented them together, we return to the third Session of the same Parliament, and its Acts. Where

12. By the first Act thereof, they ratify the former Act anent Ministers, who entered in, & since the year 1649, and such who keep not the Diocesian meetings, and

and do recommend to the privy Council the effectual execution thereof, and to call such Ministers, who dare to preach in contempt of that Act, to be punished as Seditious persons, and also to be careful to remove and dispossess such as, should be Suspended or Deprived for non conforming, declaring that if they hereafter presume to exercise their Ministry, they should be punished as Seditious persons. Thus, in the height of Perfidy and Violence, men under the pretext of abused and perverted Authority, proceed to dare & presume against God, their own Consciences and all their Sacred and Indissoluble Oaths and Engagements, and to persecute such for preaching, who, standing stedfast therein, & having a dispensation of the Gospel committed unto them, by him who is King in Zion and higher than the Kings of the Earth, may & ought to contemn the menaces of vain Man, in regard of that heavy and severe wo sounding in their ears, if they preach not the Gospel; But the Act doth further proceed, to require of all, a due Acknowledgement of, and hearty Compliance with the Kings Government Ecclesiastical and Civil, and therefore to ordain and declare, that who ever shall ordinarily and wilfully withdraw and absent themselves, from the ordinary Meetings for divine Worship in their own Churches on the Lords day, whether upon the account of Popery or other Dissaffection, shall incur, each Yeoman the loss of a fourth (or under) of his moveables, each Burges the loss of his liberty and Burgeship with the fourth of his moveables, and concludes with a reference to the Council for further punishment, and more effectual execution, like as in order hereunto the Council by several Proclamations since, have so much intended the severity of this Act, that every Parish in stead of having a Lawful Pastor, is now enslaved to a Graceless, Violent Hireling as its Lord and Master, and to the extortion of Souldiours appointed for his Executioners and Exactors.

We shall not here debate the Lawfulness or Unlawfulness of the Obedience here required, only for the vindica-

dication of many thousands of the Faithful, who by their sufferings have born Testimony aganſt this Act; we add.

1. that waving the ordinary and captious manner of propoſing the queſtion in the terms of *Hearing or not Hearing*, which ſtrictly taken, are not the ſubject thereof, we are aſſured that none ſeriously pondering the obligation of the Oath of God, *sincerely, really, and conſtantly all the dayes of our life to endeavour the extirpation of Prelats and their dependants*, but they will acknowledge, that the owning of, and ſubmitting to the Apoſtat Curats according to this Act as our Miniſters, is moſt diametrically oppoſite thereto: Can we Lawfully own ſuch whom we are bound to abhorre? Or ſubmit to ſuch whom we are bound to extirpate? Surely this were to rebuild what we have deſtroyed.

2. That though ſome nimble Sophiſters, who fear not after vowes to make inquiry, can and have ſwallowed both Owning and Submitting, as not repugnant to the duty of Extirpation, yet, ſeeing the direct contrary thereof, is by the terms themſelves very ſignificantly imported, and that theſe terms were for this expreſs cauſe and deſign particularly elected and made choice of by the Parliament, for ranverſing of the Obligation of the holy Covenant, no ſober man will be tempted by their deluſion to think, either that Owning and Submitting ſignify no more than ſimple Submitting, or that that Active Aſſenting and Complying Submission here mean'd, is no more than that Still and Paſſive Submission, unto which men by the force of inevitable neceſſity, and againſt their wills are oftentimes conſtrained.

3. That whoever pretending to enter into the Miniſtery, doth preſumptuouſly contemn and deſpiſe the ſacred Rule and Order of Entry appointed by the great Shepherd, cannot be reputed to enter by the *Door*, nor to be ſo much as Externally by him Sent or Called: But ſuch as do enter by groſs and palpable Perjury and wicked Violence and Intruſion, do without queſtion contemn the ſacred Rule and Order of Gods

Gods Word, so that to admit such to be so much as Externally Called were to make the God of Order the Author of Confusion, and him who is the *Truth*, the favourer of Perjury. We know that this notion of an *External Call* is conceited by many, to be no other thing, than the performance of such Rites and Solemnities, as are prescribed to the Admission of a Minister, done by such a Person or Persons, on whom the like hath been performed; but seeing that by many instances of gross Disorder and Violence, (which are obvious for any man to suppose,) many absurdities might be hence inferred, and to be Externally called, according both to the meaning of Truth, and the import of the words is, *to have such a Visible Evidence of the Call of Jesus Christ, as in Reason and Charity doth oblige all men to receive the person so called, as truly sent*; Certainly of any Person force his own Entry into the Ministry by open and profane Contempt of the Rule and Order given by our Lord Jesus, he doth in like manner as palpably disprove any Evidence of a Lawful Call, which he can pretend to, and no man is obliged either to Beleeve him to be Called, or to Receive him as Sent. Which things are so evident in themselves, that whoever denyeth them, is obliged by the same consequence to affirm, that if *Simon Magus* had in his horrid wickedness purchased the Apostleship by money, the Christian World had been bound to Receive him as an Apostle. 4. Though we are not to lanch out into these depths, how the Sovereignty of Divine Providence hath suffered Churches to fall away into Apostacy, and again recovered them, and if during these times of Apostacy a standing Ministry still continued, or how long it did; if not, what way it was revived and raised up, in which cases true Faith in Jesus Christ, which is the substance of all, and a conscientious walking according to the measure of the times, doth certainly purge & sustain many things otherwise chargeable with Informality; Yet

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of this we are confident, that it hath alwayes been both the sin and misery of all Apostatizing Churches, that they have not resisted the beginnings of Defection, and when the Authors thereof did prove incorrigible, though formerly Ministers, that they did not separate from them, and account them as Heathens and Publicans, which course, if duely and zealously observed, had undoubtedly put a great stop and hinderance to the rise and wicked Usurpation of Antichrist, all whose malice and violence without the delusion and compliance of such who ought to have resisted them, had never proven so effectual. 5. That a man may be a Minister, and yet not a Minister unto all, so as to oblige them to receive him as sent to them, which may be intuitively understood beyond the light and power of any demonstration, if we but suppose the case of a particular Congregation, living under, and acknowledging their own lawful Pastor, and that amongst such, a few violent persons arising, bring in another Minister by plain force, and cast out their lawful pastor; and if it be sincerely resolved what the faithful in that Church are then obliged to do, surely none will think that they ought instantly to relinquish their true pastor, and own and submit to this Intruder, but on the contrary, all must grant that they ought to adhere to their lawful Minister, and not only discountenance and withdraw from the Usurper, but by all lawful means endeavour his Ejection; which case, if but translated to the present condition of this oppressed Church under usurping prelates, will with the same evidence resolve the question. 6. That whatever construction or interpretation, many, to whom it is given to believe, but not to suffer, may put upon their hearing of the Curates, as to the inferring or not inferring their owning of, and submission to their Ministry, yet this is certain, that as it is the most probable argument and presumption of owning that can be alleaged, so is it that which this Act requires for

to testify both a due acknowledgement of, and hearty compliance with the present Government by Prelates, and as an undoubted evidence of the peoples giving their cheerful Concurrence, Countenance and Assistance to the Curates.

7. That seeing hearing of the Curates by that acknowledgement of all the more ingenuous, is not a duty to which they are moved by conscience, but rather used by them as a thing though lawful yet arbitrary, for the eviting a greater inconvenience, and seeing that this Act and every article thereof is undoubtedly a gross and wicked Perfidy against God and his holy Covenant, commanding the disowning and relinquishing the Lords Ministry, whom we are bound to maintain, and the owning and encouraging by hearing such vile Intruders as we are bound to extirpate, thereby designing expressly to involve all, as much as is possible, in the same Perfidy, and to loose the former obligation of the Oath of God; whatever may be said in the case abstractly considered, yet we are perswaded, that being thus stated, nor hearing becomes a case of Testimony, and an indispensable duty.

8. That as it is the sin and misery of all declining times, that the zeal of God is at the best rather wished for as a blessing, than minded as a Duty; so we are confident that the true and right zeal of God should, and would not only inspire all with an unanimous Adversion against the profane intruding Curates, but animate us as one man to drive away these Wolves and Thieves, and to eradicate these plants which our heavenly Father never planted.

9. That though the Curates could instruct and justify their External Call, yet such are their lies and lightness by which they cause the people to erre, and the visible truth of their vile Perjury and Prophanity, which they preach and practice, that all serious observers may easily discover them to be inwardly ravening Wolves under the sheeps cloathing of a pretended external call, of whom, in conscience of our Lords command, all ought and should beware.

10. That whatever may be the difference in these things

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things even amongst the faithful, yet all must agree and acknowledge, that the violent pressing of such to hear who, upon such probable grounds from a tender sense of conscience, do only plead that Christian, innocent, and most safe priviledge of a peaceable forbearance, is not only contrary to that ample promise of *Indulgence to tender consciences* made and declared by the King from Breda before his return 1660. but is in effect to violent all conscience, and the height of oppression and rigour. 11. That as the grounds laid down may and do sufficiently answer all objections, so there from may be shortly cleared, first, that common and ordinary Sophism, that hearing and observing the Ordinances is an indispenfible Duty, from which neither the wickedness nor frailty of the Minister doth loose: But as it may be easily answered, that this when acknowledged, doth rather suppose than inferre the complexed lawfulness of hearing Curates as Ministers, and that their Ministry is the Lords Ordinance, which is plainly denyed; so we are also to consider, that such duties and performances are only acceptable unto the Lord, specially in the matters of his Worship, which are intirely sound and wholly agreeable unto his will, truely done, in spirit, and altogether performed in truth, *Nam bonum est ex omni causa*. Hence it is that the prophanity and wickedness even of the Lords lawfull Priests, let be the Perjury and Profanity of wicked Intruders, have not only caused the People to abhorre the offering of the Lord, to the Priests heavy charge, but even the Lord himselfe to abhorre his sanctuary, and to account incense an abomination, so that he cannot away with the calling of assemblies, it is iniquity even the solemn meeting; shall it then be accounted iniquity for to hate that which the Lord hates, and withdraw from that which he hath forsaken? Ought we not rather to distinguish a holy abhorring from a profane contempt, though both of them proceed from the Curats sin, and in the sense thereof rather wish for, and withdraw with *Jeremiah* unto a cottage

in the wilderness, that there we may mourn for all these abominations; surely were there no more in this matter but that Holiness becomes the house of God for ever, and men of clean hands and a pure lip ought to draw near and turn unto him, it were sufficient to justify the Lords People, who in drawing near to God, cannot in conscience either regard, or make use of the mouths and hands of these Apostates, which are continually filled with lyes and violence, as either sent by the Lord to them-ward, or to be employed by them to God ward. 2. From these grounds may be cleared that grand objection from our Lords command to the People of the Jewes, *Matt. 23. ver. 2 3* saying, *The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses seat, therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do.* Whence some inferre, that even such as without a title do usurp the office of teachers ought notwithstanding to be both heard and observed; but it is answered, 1. That it neither appeareth from the words, nor yet from any other Record, that the Scribes and Pharisees did by intrusion possess themselves of Moses chair, but on the contrary, as by Moses chair is only understood the Office of teaching, resolving and judging according to Moses Law, to which although the Levites were appropriate, yet there is no such determination thereanent in the Word of God, as can by any manner of inference reject the Scribes and Pharisees as intruders, so it is more presumable (that, seeing our Lord in that long Legend of evils and woes pronounced against them, doth not in the least charge them with Intrusion, but rather acknowledge their Vocation by calling them the Builders) they had thereto lawfully attained. 2. As our Lords Words bear no command for the People to hear, but only to observe and do what they heard, rather supposing than allowing that, which though for the time he endeavoured to improve to the best advantage, yet afterwards he intended not only to reform but utterly to abolish; and therefore cannot in reason inferre command and duty to hear the Curates;

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Curates; so neither our Lords tolerance in this case can be much as inferre its lawfulness, except the cases were duly stated and compared, which if any will rationally do, by first supposing that the Scribes and Pharisees had then lately by gross Perjury & Violence thrust out the Lords Teachers, and intruded themselves into the Office, we are bold to affirm, that our greatest adversaries dare not in this case assert, that our Lord would so much as in the like words here used have insinuat a simple toleration.

13. Hitherto we have only observed the progress of these Acts, that directly tend to the overthrow of Presbytery, and the erecting of Prelacy but as by the vilest of Flatteries and most presumptuous of Usurpations, Sovereignty is pushed up and exalted to that Supremacy, which is the necessary and only foundation of Prelacy; So it is no wonder if both in the righteous Judgement of God, and through the influence of this wicked Prelacy, the stay of lawful Authority become a yoke of Tyranny, and that these Prelates, who make an absolute surrender of Religion, Conscience and all Sacred Concernments, for the gratifying, and to the arbitrament of these Powers, whose Creatures they have often Atheistically acknowledged themselves to be, do with the same and greater profusion subject both Laws, Liberties and the Fortunes of others, to the lust of the same Powers, which they may so easily pervert unto their own establishment and advancement: And this indeed is, and hath alwayes been that great aggravation of our latter Prelacy, rendring the same worse and more intolerable than the Romish Hierarchy, which being wholly dependent upon the Pope, another and distinct head, and not upon the Civil Power, whose interests are oftentimes not only distinct but directly opposite, it hath neither that access, nor influence to abuse Princes; Whereas our Prelates deriving all their Power and Being from the Kings Supremacy, by endeavouring for their own better establishment, to render him incontrollably absolute over and in all things, they being otherwise mean and abject persons, having the least and almost no share nor

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interest in the Commonwealth, and by reason of their ill Right and worse Conscience in what they do possess, being alwayes cruelly jealous, have by sad experience ever inclined the Government unto Tyranny; & as in this late & worst Catastrophe they have more prevailed, than ever formerly they did, so the following instances do more clearly demonstrate this assertion.

We shall not here repeat these Acts, whereby for the better and more easy establishment of Prelacy then designed, this Parliament for its first work, under pretence of vindicating and declaring the Kings Just Right and Prerogative, did in effect wholly corrupt and innovate the well tempered and firm constitution of our Ancient Government, which both all our Ancient Histories and Records, the only evidence whereby fundamental Laws are verifiable, sufficiently declare, and the long continuance and endurance thereof, excellently commend. The first thing that thereafter occurs, is that Act & offer of fourty thousand pounds Sterling to the King yearly during his life, whereby in place of that relaxation from these burdens, which the iniquity of Usurpers had only from time to time imposed, a lasting and perpetual Imposition, by its continuance fully exequating the excess of the former, is entailed upon us, and that for no other end than the complementing of a few Favourites of Prelacy, and the maintaining of a Military Force over us, for their and the Prelates security, and persecution & slavery of the body of the people opposite thereto. The 2. thing is that rigid, irregular and exorbitant Fining, which we have already mentioned, clearly and unquestionably carried on and executed by the same Authors; and for the same Design. The 3. thing is that *humble tender* made to the King of our duty and loyalty, wherby in recognizance of the Kings prerogative, and in a further acknowledgement of our duty, the Parliament by the 25. Act, Session 3. do subject the Persons, Fortunes and whole strength of the Kingdom to the Kings pleasure and arbitrimt, in that *humble* (indeed, but

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but also blind and inconsiderate offer of 20000 foot Men, and 2000 Horsemen sufficiently armed with 40 dayes Provision, to be ready upon the Kings call, to march to any part of his Dominions, for opposing whatsoever Invasion, or Insurrection, or for any other service. Which offer, though possibly many do account it but a voluntary and cheerful expression of that readiness, which our Ancestors have often witnessed for the defence of King & Countrey; yet in effect, if duely considered, as concluded under the force of a Statute and Act of Parliament, in place of that willingness & readiness alleaged, whereunto our Ancestors were from time to time determined by these visible & apparent exigencies of the common concernment which did require it, it will be found no other thing, than an implicit and slavish Emancipation of our lives and liberties to the arbitrament of the Powers, coloured with the pretence of loyal devotion to lawful Authority. But whatever is herein exorbitant, is without question the proper effect and product of the jealousy of these Apostate Prelates, whom the inward disquiet of an evil conscience causeth to apprehend terrour round about. The 4. thing wherein this wicked prelacy hath perverted the Ancient and well constituted Government of this Realm, is their procuring, erecting & exercising the High Commission Court, (without so much as the approbation of that Parliament, wherein nothing would have been refused them, wherein not only Ecclesiastick and Civil Jurisdiction are absurdly confounded, in empowering secular persons to suspend and depose; and pretending Church men and Ministers to fine, confine and incarcerate, but the *Act. 131. Parl. 8. Jac. 6.* discharging all New Courts not approven in Parliament, directly thereby contravened; neither will the Carholicon of the Kings omnipotent Prerogative save this breach. in respect the same Prerogative, now in so great vigour, was by the 129. Act of this same 8 *Parl. 1a. 6.* and almost immediatly preceeding the Act alleaged, then also recently enacted. But who can consider the Arbitrary form of Inquisition & summary proceeding

sedour without any shadow of Legal Proceſs, uſed in the ſame Commiſſion, its tyranny and unwarrantable exacting of Oaths and ſubſcriptions, with its new invented insolent and affronting puniſhments, more cruell to ingenuous Spirits than death it ſelf, and not be convinced of the groſs and wicked corruption of this State novelty, or rather monſter? The 5. thing which offers, is the accumulation, and in effect the ſuppreſſion of the ordinary Officers of State (the very ſtay and props of regular Government, and the conduits and channels whereby its reſreſhing influences are diffuſed) with, and by an extraordinary ſuperlative power and Office in the ſingle perſon of the Kings Commiſſioner. Certainly as in the multitude of Counſellers there is ſafety, ſo on the other hand no King on earth can rule by ſuch a deputation, who may not as lawfully alienate his Crown: Which devices are all the inventions of theſe wicked Prelates, who knowing that if the King ſhould either hear, ſee or act, but by ſuch ears, eyes, and hands as they do aſſigne unto him, their affairs could not long proſper, do by ſuch exorbitancies endeavour the eſtabliſhment of their own Tyranny. The 6. thing that occures is not only the keeping up of a Military Force, to the intolerable burden and ſlavery of this free Nation, in ſo far as the ordinary and civil manner of Legal Execution, ſpecially for Fines and Eccleſiaſtical Delinquencies is now committed to, and managed by Military Force and Violence, and thereby the manner of exacting often times rendered more hard and inſupportable than the exaction it ſelf; but alſo that for ſatisfying the reſtleſs jealousies and endless fears of the evil conſciences of theſe Apoſtate Prelates, more and greater forces under the vain pretence of Foreign fears, which both the then condition and poſture of theſe Wars, the diſproportion of the Forces themſelves, and the diſpoſal of ſuch as before were levyed did clearly redargue, have been levyed, and are kept on foot, for maintain-

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ing whereof the Publick Revenues are mis-applied, the Fines, when by the Kings favour long delayed, at length exacted and expended, new Taxtions imposed; far exceeding the quantity of any formerly required, and at length the old Asselsment, the great grievance of the late Usurpation of new superadded, and the poor Conntry and body of the Land in its greatest poverty subjected unto, oppressed and harrassed by more injurious extortions than ever the Conquering sword of any Forraign Enemy did heretofore, or can probably license: And all these things clearly intended and carryed on for no other end than the support of this wicked Prelacy, and its cruel Bondage and Spiritual Tyranny. We need no mention for an aggravation of these violences, that these Forces were levyed by the immediate procurement of the Perfidious Prelates, without the advice of the King's Council, (ever from the beginning, what ever may be the present exaltation of Prerogative, reputed to be one with the King, and who both by Place and Interest are therein indispenfibly concerned) seeing it is not the least of the iniquities and calamities of these times, that the poor Nation and its greatest Concernments are by them so basely abandoned. But this we must take notice of, that though our Adversaries, by reason of the disastrous Events that lately have happened, do now boast of a most special Providence and fore-sight in all these oppressions; yet it would be more just and rational on their part, to acknowledge that as oppression doth even make a wise man mad, so to see a free Nation, by the Perfidy and Insolent Domineering of a few up-start Prelates, and the violence of their wickrd and slavish Favourites, reduced to the condition of a most insupportable and unnatural Conquest, both was, is, and ever will be a most just cause and provocation to all ingenuous Spirits and true Patriots, to undertake the asserting of their own Liberty, upon the greatest hazard.

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Having thus truly and fully represented the exaltation of Prerogative and Prelacy, over and above all things Divine and Humane, Sacred or Profane, we shall briefly adde the bitter and cruel fruits and effects of this sinful & woful Conspiracy.

1. As the Laws above mentioned, enacted for the overthrow of Presbytery, & the Restauration of this accursed Prelacy, specially in so far as concerns the Ministry, were, and are such as did inevitably inferre, either a sinfull compliance with that Perjury and Apostacy whereby they were framed, or the endurance of the pains and sufferings thereto subjoynd; so almost the whole faithful Ministers, are thereby first and last not only deprived of their benefices and lively hood, ejected out of their respective Parishes, and by imminent and visible force incapacitated from the exercise of their Ministry, but some of them are Banished, others Confined, and the remnant reduced to such straits, fears and uncertainties as we have before represented. Then might we have seen the shepherds smitten, and their flocks scattered, our teachers removed into corners, and the Lords Vineyard and Sanctuary laid most desolate: so that in some whole Countreyes and Provinces no preaching was to be heard; nor could the Lords day be otherwise known, than by the sorrowfull remembrance of these blessed enjoyments whereof now we are deprived. Oh! though we had not the zeal and courage of our Ancestors, to have set our selves for the Gospel, and the maintenance of the Lords Ministers and Ordinances, which were so perfidiously and violently spoiled, yet that at least we had remembered, by Prayer and Supplication to God, in the dayes of our afflictions and of our miseries, all the pleasant things that we had in the dayes of old.

2. As this Antichristian spirit did at the first discover it selfe, in the height and rage of Prophanity and all Excess, which suddenly overspread the Land, and very

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powerfully and evidently usher in the Restitution of Prelats ; so the same hath been ever since by them not only tolerated , but greatly countenanced and encouraged. We do not here mention their gross and wicked Toleration of Popery , whereby in these few years it hath increased to a greater height, than ever it attained at any time in this Land since the Reformation , and that though it hath , and doth appear in that daring confidence , as in its avowed idolatrous Masses and seminary Priests amongst us , to contemn and despise these ancient and standing Laws, whereby such things are often and severely prohibited under the pain of death , yet to this day never one hath been publicly questioned and charged upon that account. The thing mostly to be noticed is, that the only grievance and eye-sore of Prelates is Conscience and any measure of Tenderness therein ; Thence is it that the most innocent and peaceable Forbearance in not hearing Curates and the like , hath been persecuted with all rigour , whereas Adulteries , Blasphemies, Swearing and Drunkenness are so far from being punished or restrained, that the Committers thereof are now only the persons most in fashion and favour ; yea it hath been known and can be instanced that persons conveyed and questioned, as disaffected , have either upon discovery or information of their Prophanity & dissoluteness, been instantly and freely dismissed. Oh that men and Christians do so little remember our Lords own rule, to judge and discern false prophets by their fruits , whereby he hath expressly said that we shall know them, and that men are so far blinded and bewitched , as not to see the mighty working of Sathan in this Mystery of Iniquity, endeavouring under a meer shadow and pretence of Formality , to root out the Power and Life of Religion and Conscience , and to reduce this poor Church unto that *Laodicean* luke-warmness more desperate and incurable than coldness and death itself.

3. The faithful Ministers being outed, and the hedge of Presbyterian Government removed, as prophanity and wickedness doth yet more abound, so there came out of this smoak, Locusts upon our Church, even a crew of Curates for Insufficiency, Vanity, Lies, and Prophanity, the very Scorn of Reformation and Scandal of Religion. We need not here adduce particular instances, there is none, who in the least observe their doctrine & manner of conversation, but will easily acknowledge it: And the certainty of what we here affirm is so obvious unto all, that a particular condescendence would either prove an infinite labour, or too much abridge the extent of so sad a truth. Its true there are some who being convinced, and others who supposing the truth of what is here alleaged, do either doubt or deny these things to be the proper effects of Prelacy, but rather of the licentiousness of men, and such accidents which may be incident to the best constitutions: But if it be considered,

1. That that thing which inseparably and infallibly attends another, may with more than ordinary probability be concluded to depend thereon by a certain influence.
2. That that which is no Ordinance of Jesus Christ, but the visible product of the Devils malice and mens pride and lust, can never be effectual for the establishing of Truth, or promoting of Holiness.
3. That such who not only discover in themselves the foresaid evils, but by open and most notorious Perjury do usurp and invade and hold the Offices they pretend to, must of necessity hate the light because their deeds are evil; it will be very easily granted that Prelacy, Prelates, and their dependants, to whom all these things are clearly applicable, are not only the proper causes and authors of all the Prophanity and Wickedness under which this poor Land now perissheth; but most naturally introductive unto all these Superstitions & Abominations, wherein the Devill by the same means did, and hath involved the Christian World under the Roman Papacy.

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4. The Prelates and Curates being thus established, from the ground and warrant of the Acts mentioned, several Proclamations and Edicts, for the more effectual execution thereof, and pressing conformity thereunto, and for the suppressing conscientious adherence to, or (so much as is possible) the very remembrance of our former Engagements and Covenants, and the holy Ministry and Government therein contained, are emitted and published. We have already mentioned that at *Glasgow*, and these others to the same purpose which did ensue upon it. The first what we here note is, that the Prelates conceiving that their persecutions already practized and to be practized, might excite the compassion of some to a charitable supply of the afflicted; more to express their cruel malice than really to hinder that, which at best is not worth the noticing, under the pretext of *Disorder*, they procure a *discharge of charitable Collections*. And now let it be here observed once for all, that such is the cruelty, not only of the malice but of the very Acts, procured by the Prelates against conscientious Non-conformists, that if they were followed with a sutable and compleat execution, there should remain no comfort to any abiding stedfast, other than that of *Arcadius* metcy to the children of Traitors, *that life should be their grief, and death their relief*. There was another Proclamation emitted at the time of the first planting of the Curates, *that all parsons should keep their own Parish Churches, and should not repair to any other except in case of vacancy, under pain of twenty shillings toties quoties*, to the effect that such could not in conscience attend the Curats Conventicles might be also deprived of any mean of edification which the opportunity and neighbourhood of a faithful Ministry might afford. Then thereafter there is another Edict published against *unwarrantable Preaching, Praying, and Hearing*, whereby even such Exercises, without which the Communion of Saints can hardly be intertained, are

restrained and discharged; in so much, that if a faithful outed Minister should repair to any private family, or two or three more than the Domesticks of one House be found together, though only employed in the most Christian and edifying Exercises of Praying, Lecturing or Godly Conference. their meeting is declared an *unlawful Conventicle*, and all such as are accessory, punishable accordingly. By a fourth Proclamation, men are required to be *assistant to, and concur with the Curates in the exercise of Discipline*, as they shall be thereto called, though they be not told either by what warrant, or in what capacity they are to meddle in the Matters of God; for our adversaries do both disown Elders, and allow Deacons no rule. There is a fifth Proclamation *discharging all Conventions and meetings whatsoever under the pretence of Religion, which are not allowed by Authority*, certifying all persons accessory, that they shall be looked upon and punished by pecuniary & corporal pains, as seditious persons, at the arbitrement of the Council, and especially, that the Ministers exercising therein, and their resisters or countenancers in any sort, shall be liable unto the highest pains due to seditious Persons. And lastly, there is a sixth, commanding all Masters of Families to cause their Servants and all their dependents, and all Heritors and Landlords to cause their Tennants and Tax men to obey all Acts of Parliaments or Council enjoying Conformity, and particularly to frequent their Parish Churches, and to submit and conform to the Curates their Ministry, or else remove them summarily from their service, and eject them out of their Possessions: And also that Heritors take bond and security of their inrant Tennants in time coming, that they and their Cottars and Servants, shall give obedience, as said is; and lastly, that all Magistrates of Burghs cause their Inhabitants give Bond for the like obedience; for which effects, these Heritors and Magistrates are warranted to charge them under the pain of Rebellion: And whosoever shall contravene this Edict is certified and declared liable to the same pains due to the Non Conformists themselves, for whom he hereby is made answerable.

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This is the last Act and Proclamation for Conformity not only in course, but even in the utmost of extremity and rigour, whereby, as many persons having a freedom to their own practice, are further urged, contrary to all the rules of charity and moderation, to compel others towards whom they may rather desire a Christian Forbearance and Indulgence to be used; so the generality of the Land without any exception whatsoever, are reached, and obliged to all the Compliance with, and Conformity to this wicked Apostacy, and accursed and abjured Prelacy, whereof they are capable, and that under such Pains, as if generally incur'd & execute, should infallibly reduce the Land to utter Desolation and confusion. But the Lord heareth and regardeth, and Oh that men would also hear the voice of this poor Church, that bewaileth herself and spreadeth out her hands, saying, *Woe is me now, for my soul is weary because of Murtheers.*

5. As we have observed the Tyranny and Illegality of the *High Commission*, granted for executing these Ecclesiastick Acts and Edicts, both in its Constitution and Precedor, so we do further observe, that whatever Novelties and Extravagancies the *Commission* itself contain, yet the Practices of the Court, having no other Precedent in the Christian World, save that of the *Spanish Inquisition*, do far exceed them. For 1. as persons are brought before them, either by Seisure or summar Citation, without any cause signified, but to answer *super inquirendis*, contrary to an express standing Law *Iac. 6. Parl. 10. cap. 13. 1585*; which was also enacted, when the Kings Prerogative was fresh and in full vigour; so at their Compearance, they have neither Libel nor Accuser, but are constrained instantly to make answer to whatsoever question the arbitrament of the Archprelat pleaseth to demand. 2. As there is no time for advice permitted, so neither are lawful Defences received or admitted; but if any person do offer to propone any matter of that kind, he is required first to

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take the Oath of Supremacy, or some such Engagement or Subscription, which they are assured he will refuse. Thus a Gentleman of the Name of *Porterfield* being convened before them, and questioned for not owning the Curate; He answers, That his not hearing the Curate, could import no disaffection, nor bring him under the compass of the Law, because the Curate had calumniated him by such vile opprobries and reproaches, as were both scandalous in a Minister, and just ground of resentment to any ingenuous Spirit, as he was able to prove by sufficient witnesses: This the Court having sustained as relevant, and the Gentleman having adduced his witnesses, and one of them being examined and clearly proving, all further procedor is stopped, and he required to take the Oath of Supremacy, which he having refused, they sentence him in a great Pecuniary Fine, and confine his Person far North, to the Town of *Elgin*. 3. If any Person convened do clearly answer all their Questions & Demands, so that he cannot be in that manner reached, then they require him in a most Arbitrary way, either to take the Oath of Supremacy, or some other subscription, for obedience to Ecclesiastick Lawes, or any other bond or security they please to require: In which their Tyranny they are so inconsequent, that they neither remember that Lawes made are to be Obeyed and not subscribed, and that Obedience is secured by their own sanction, and not by the Peoples handwriting, nor that the main objection by which they themselves impugn the Covenant, and whereon the Declaration against it, is expressly founded, is that the same was taken by, and imposed upon the Subjects of this Kingdom against the fundamental Laws and Liberties of the same, which is not more false if applied to these holy Covenants, (which were expressly founded, both upon the Word of God, and the free consent of the body of the People, and most necessarily intended for the Glory of God and the defence

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of Religion and Liberty, which are the foundations of fundamentals, besides the accession of both Law and Authority, by which they were warranted) than true and evident in order to the case in hand, it being most certain that whatever may be the extent of the Peoples Surrender under any Constitution; for the enforcing of their Obedience or Submission, yet the liberty of Perswasion is undoubtedly understood to be reserved, that it cannot be abridged by any imposed Oath or Subscription, without their own consent. We know the Council hath both the power, and is in use to take Bond, for keeping the Peace, but this is a practice so clearly warranted by Law, and antecedently founded in reason and humanity, upon just and probable presumptions, to secure the Peace by bonds which they might do by the persons imprisonment; that the parity is alleaged with as little reason, as the practice controverted is voyd of equity: Notwithstanding of all which there is but one course before that *Commission Court*, without mitigation either to Banish, or Fine, or Confine (or both) the persons refusing. 4. If any do in his answer or demeanor offend, or be discovered thereby in the least to be guilty, they proceed to sentence without any breathing or intermission, wherein they so little observe the Warrant of their Power and Commission, that they oftentimes exceed all the proportion either of Law or Reason. For verifying whereof, let but the instances subjoined be considered, where we shall find persons 1. *Stigmatized and Banished* for not conforming, which neither their first nor second Commission, bearing only Power to *Fine, Confine and Imprison*, nor the Laws whereupon they could proceed give warrant to do. We know the first Commission that was printed, was afterwards renewed with some extension and not printed, but though some copies thereof in writing were spread abroad, with power to *stigmatize and banish* yet neither doth the Principal contain any such warrant nor can the extension therein made, inferre the same.

any sort, without admitting that the same Court consisting of many members constituent of the Secret Council, might *Proteus*-like transfigure themselves into this form in a moment. 2. We shal find men sentenced not only to Banishment, but to Deportation and Slavery, viz. to be carried to *Barbadoes*, where, being poor men and not able to redeem their Liberty, they must undoubtedly be sold; a punishment, which not only the disproportion of their delinquencies, but the whole tenor of our Laws, & the undoubted Privilege of Christianity, doth reprobate and condemn: These things duely considered and compared, it will be more than evident, that our Oppressions and Grievances by reason of this Court alone, do far exceed all the pressures and injuries of that *Spanish Inquisition*, whereupon the *United Provinces* have justified and approved their revolt from under the King of Spain, to all Protestant States and Churches.

6. As these Acts and Proclamations are very Wickedness, so their Execution hath been only Rigour and Cruelty, It were endless to enumerate all the distresses that have hereupon ensued upon particular persons and Families, unto the imprisonment of many, confinement of some, deportation of others to remote *Islands*; chassing of others to sore and anxious wanderings, and scattering of Families unto beggery. Any who can conceive the Wickedness and Violence that did prompt the Prelats to the making of these Acts and Statutes, the arbitrary Power of the High Commission by which they were enforced, and the rage, violence and rapine that attends Military Force by which they were and are executed, may possibly conceive some part of these evils; which, lest the strangeness thereof do render altogether improbable to men unacquainted, we shall here subjoin a few instances of many, of the Procedors of the high Commission Court, leaving these of Military Force unto a more proper place. The Parish of *Ancrum* had been in former times under the blessing of Mr *John Livingstone* his Ministry, who being banished the Kingdom for no other cause

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cause than his emipency and stedfastness in the Work of God, and refusing the Oath of Supremacy, there is obtruded by the Bishop upon them in his place, one *Scot*, an old excommunicate Curate, continuing under that sentence, and in his wickedness that procured the same, for which cause mainly, he is now complemented and rewarded with the accession of this Kirk and Benefice, to two others, which he still brooks and enjoyes, though very far distant from this place. This man coming amongst them, such as feared the Lord, and remembered his Work and Covenant, are stirred up in the Zeal of God to testify against his Intrusion, whom, being a Person excommunicate, entering by gross Perjury, without their consent, and only seeking after the fleece and Benefice, all that love our Lord Jesus and the prospering of his pleasure, were bound to abhorre & detest: We do not justify any excess of humane passion, that might here have been admixed with the sincere zeal of God, which we are certain in its worst appearance all men ought rather to excuse, than therefore condemn that duty, to which not only the People of that Parish, but the whole Church of Scotland were and are in a higher measure indispenibly obliged, in opposition to the present course of Apostacy, and for extirpation of the Apostat Prelates. However four men of the Parish, are convened before the High Commission, where being examined they acknowledge, that Mr *Scot* being to preach at *Ancrum* as their Minister, they found themselves pressed in conscience to declare to him their dis-satisfaction with his entry, and that they were present with the rest of the people which were there at that time. This the Commission, contrary to the opinion of the more sober & most knowing amongst them, take for a confession of guilt, and immediately proceed to sentence them, as contemnners of the Ordinances, to be scourged through the Town, stigmatized with the letter *T* that the Cross of Edinburgh, and thereafter imprisoned, and with the first Ship to be carried to the Barbadoes Islands. All

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which was accordingly performed upon them. *Thus judgement is turned into gall, and the fruit of righteousness into bemoaning.* But God who sustained his servants with that constancy and courage, that neither the shame nor pain of scourging and burning, hindered them openly and audibly to rejoice in the Lord, who counted them worthy to suffer for his Name, beholdeth also mischief and spite to require it with his hand. For the same alleaged crime, shortly hereafter they sentence two Brothers, married men, to be carried to Barbadoes, and their sister, a young woman, to be scourged through the Town of *Edinburgh*. As for alleaged conventicling, there is one *Mr Smith*, a Minister seised upon and imprisoned, for no other crime than preaching to, and praying with a few secretly assembled for fear of the Prelates, in the Name of the Lord, without the least offence objected from any thing there spoken; who being brought before the *Commission*, and in his examination and answers to the Bishop of *St Andrewes*, calling him only *Sir*, without Lord or Grace, he is therefore taxed by the *Commissioner*, to whom he answered very respectfully, (giving him his accustomed titles) that he knew he was speaking to *Mr James Sharp* once a Minister as he himself is. Whereupon there is so great offence conceived, that the *Commissioner* did immediatly ordain him to be carried by the *Town-Hangmen* to the *Thieves Hole*, and there laid in the Irons, in company with a Furious Fatuous person, who was there loose: an Indignity so great, unusual and insolent, that although He had behaved himself not only rudely in his demeanor, (which is the worst that his Adversaries can charge him with) but had been most flagitious in his life; yet nothing but that Spirit of Spite and Rebellion that rageth in Apostates, could prompt Christians to inflict upon one, who had ever carried so much as the Title of a Minister. But because the open Iron-grate, whereby this *Hole* is shut, gave too great access to the charity and compassion of many persons who came to visit him, he is therefore upon the third day thereafter carried

ed up to the *Iron-house* within the *Tolbooth*, and continued in his irons and fetters, and thereafter in close Prison, until by sentence of the same *Commission*, he was banished and confined to *Shetland*. the coldest and wildest of all the *Sea Islands*; where he was to expect no other comfort, than the company of some other faithful men, who for not owning and submitting to the Curats, had been carried there, by sentence of the same Court. And as they did thus sentence the Minister for Exercising, so the same Court having convened before them an honest private man . . . *Black*. for being present at an alleaged *Conventicle*, but in effect, at the meeting of a few Christians for praying and hearing the Lord's Word, without so much as any other offence pretended; because, according to the example and warrant of the Primitive Christians, he refused to give his Oath, thereupon to delate the names of such as he knew to have been present, and because he was not liberall in giving *Andrewes* his titles, the *Commissioner* ordaineth him to be scourged through the Town; although it was well known to the Court, that his information could give very small evidence, and they were convinced, that his refusal did not flow from contempt of the King's Authority, but merely and purely from scruple of Conscience. These are few instances of many particulars of this kind which might be alleaged, whereof there is no corner in the whole Countrey nor Parish almost in the West, which cannot give evidence & therefore we do remitte any more ample confirmations of these things, until we have noted a few more particulars clearing thereof.

7. As we have observed the Wickedness of these Ecclesiastick Laws, and the iniquity and irregularity of the Act of Fining, and the introducing of Execution by Military Force; (a servitude unheard of & intolerable in any free Nation) so the evils and oppressions thereof can scarcely be numbred, For 2. Upon pretence of that Proclamation commanding People to keep their Parish-Churches, and

prohibiting the repairing to any other, except in case of vacancy under the pain of 20 shillings Scots *toties quoties* the souldiours being disposed upon, to such places, which are known to be most averse from this course of Apostacy, lying at catch for their own advantage, have often taken the opportunity, where there was but one Church in the bounds still enjoying a faithful Minister, and many vacancies about, to go and beset that Church in the time of Divine Worship, to the profane disturbance thereof. And thereafter either to cause call some old roll of the Parishioners, and exact the Fine of twenty Shillings Scots of all others without exception, or respect even to the licence contained in the Proclamation it self, in case of vacancy, or to require an Oath of every person to know to what Parish they belong, and that at the Church door, without permitting them to come forth, until they either give their Oath or pay the Fine; not only with cursing, swearing and confusion, as would make Infidels amazed to see the Lords day so profaned, by Christians professing the same common Faith; but with such rigour, by taking by force the Bibles or garments from some poor persons, who have not wherewith to pay, and insolent beating and wounding of others to the effusion of blood, as may justify the greatest Barbarity. We need not instance particulars in a truth so universally known. We proceed to another kind of this same violence, practised in other places where Curates are planted, who, to force and compel the people to that compliance with their Ministry, which in conscience they are bound to abhorre, cause form lists or rolls of such as keep not the Church, and calling them after sermon, both Men and Women by Name and Surname, they amerciate the absents in such summs and Fines as they please, and for the most part, far exceeding the pains contained in the Act of Parliament; wherupon the souldiours are immediatly warranted to go and exact the same by quartering. Which Practice is not more unjust in it self, as illegal and summar procedor, than rigid and exorbitant; both as to the quantity and the manner of exacting it, by reason

reason of their riding and quartering money . (which therewith exacted) and the other inconveniences which inseparably attend the rapine & violence of prophane souldiours. 3. In many places , not contented thus to Fine and Exact , the souldiours , on the Lords day , go to private houses , and by plain force compel and drive to the Church all such as they find , and oftentimes do violently beat and abuse persons , who by reason of infirmities or sicknes are really unable : A practice so cruel and absurd , that some of themselves have said , it was our Lords way to drive buyers and sellers out of the Temple , but not to drive them into it. 4. As to the exacting and levying of the Parliaments Fines , the same was done (by a reference of the *Council* to the *Commissioner* , and his orders thereon) in such an oppressive and exorbitant manner as cannot be paralelled. For 1. Parties of horse being directed to several Shires , when a party arrived in any Shire , they direct their order to all the persons therein Fined , intimating to them and every one of them to pay their respective Fines , with three Shillings Sterling *per diem* for every Horseman in the party : from the day and date of their Order until the Fine be payed , and the payment signified to the commander of the Party : By which extortions , many have been compelled to pay more for Quartering than the summe and quantity of their Fine : and during the time of these oppressions , many have computed , that the Sherifdoms of *Air* and *Renfrew* were compelled to pay upon the account of Quarterings , over and above the Fines , betwixt two and three thousand Merks Scots *per diem*. 2. There was no defence nor exemption allowed against these Quarterings ; for whether the person fined did liberat himself , by taking the *Declaration* , or that it was alleaged that he was Minor , or an Infant , or never Charged , or that his Predecessor charged was since Deceased , or that his Predecessor was never Charged , yea Died before he was fined , or that the Person quartered on was only Relict of the Person

fined (a poor Widow living upon a mean Jointure) or that the Person quartered on had no Relation to the Person fined, save that he lived in the house and place which once pertained to him, and which this Person lawfully Purchased, even before the other was fined; Yet all was repelled, and no complaint of this rigour and violence could be heard or received; but on the contrary the complainner (especially if he refused to take the *Declaration*) was rejected with most insolent reproaches and menaces.

3. That both in the uplifting of the Fine and exacting of the Quarterings, the extremity of rigour was used, by dragging some to prison, who either were known altogether indigent and insolvent, or did offer to renounce the Benefit of the *Act of Indemnity* (the forfeiture whereof as the alternative and utmost certification for not payment of the Fine, contained in the *Act of Fining*) or by plundering, Beating, and Spoiling others without possibility of redress. We need not adduce Particular Instances for the verification of these things, seeing they were not done in a corner: But the cry of this violence, as it filled the whole Land; so no doubt it also reached unto the very Heavens, and is entered into the ears of Him *who hateth violence and loveth righteousness, who saith unto Princes, Remove violence and spoil, and execute judgment and justice, take away your exactions from my people.* One thing mainly to be considered is, that as Prelacy is the great cause of all the Sin and Misery that afflicteth us; so was it by the instigation of the same wicked Apostats, that these Fines so long delayed were thus at length rigorously exacted: And that for no other purpose, than the levying of more Forces for their security and support, and the better strengthening of their Tyranny. Certainly were it not of the Lord, who, because of our contempt of his glorious Gospel and blessed Ministry, hath plagued us with stupidity, and smitten us with madness, blindness and astonishment of heart, to give unto us the re-

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ward of our own hands, and to cause us to eat the fruit of our doings, it were impossible that rational men after the feeling of so sore grievances, and the teaching of so many and sad experiences, should still couch under the burthen and submit themselves to the yoke of a few insignificant Apostate Upstarts, and not rather acquit themselves like men, by pulling off these vizards of Religion under which they mask their villanies, and plucking them out of that Sanctuary and great refuge of Loyalty which they do not more pretend than prophane by all the horrid Rebellion against God, and their cruel Persecutions of His faithful Servants and the Kings true Subjects, which they palliate under this pretext; to the effect that in the righteous & deserved Punishment of these wicked men, both the Sin and Backsliding of the Land might be sisted, & the fierce anger of the Lord averted.

This is the wickedness and violence of accursed Prelacy, which though it hath diffused it self over the whole Land, and left no corner thereof untouched, yet as the *West* hath been more grievously thereby oppressed and afflicted, so poor *Galloway* in a manner hath been the points in which all its malice and Tyranny hath been concentrated. We need not here search after Particulars, or be curious for the verification thereof; the cries and groans of that afflicted Countrey have filled all mens ears, and the desolations thereof are obvious to every ones eyes: Nor need we insist to purge their innocence or clear the causes of their sufferings, which were no other than their adherence to their faithful Ministers (though cast out and rejected by men, yet continuing through the grace of God, to preach amongst them) and their denigration of a crew of unworthy Curates, scatterers and devourers, not Pastors of the flock) thrust in amongst them more violently than upon any other part of the Countrey. The thing we have here to observe is, that manner of the persecution was first and last by plain *Hostile Invasion*. A

ter which manner *Sir James Turner* with his Forces (having twice before been amongst them) in *March 1666*, with greater power and fury than ever formerly, marcheth against them: where being arrived, what exactions, oppressions and insolencies he and his forces committed by arbitrary fining, plundering, quartering, imprisoning, beating, wounding, binding men like beasts, chafing to moors and mountains, and by harassing and laying both Parishes and Countrey-sides almost wholly desolates the ruine and beggery of several hundreds of families, and the impoverishing and great distress of many others do abundantly testify: And yet after all these atrocious injuries, by the contrivance and Authority of the *Bishop of Galloway*, (who sometimes appeared so zealous for the Covenant and Work of God, that, frequently in his administration of the Sacrament of the Lords Supper to the people of his own Parish, while he was a private Minister, when they were set at Table and ready to Participate, he caused them to renew the Oath of the Covenant, subjoining thereto both that solemnity, and these words used by *Nehemiah*, Chap. 5: 13. when in the like case he did shake his lap, and said, so God shake out every man from his labor that performeth not this promise, even thus be he shaken out and emptied) by the prescription, we say, of the same *Bishop* and his Synod, these poor oppressed people, after all the exactions, are urged and compelled to subscribe an acknowledgement that *Sir James had used them civilly and discreetly*; whereby they were forced not only to deny common sense, and lay aside their just resentments, but by this their Subscription (which might be opposed to all their complaints) they were virtually excluded from all hope of redress. All which things are not only confirmed by the notoriety of the matter of fact, but are also by that grievous & mournful Paper of their sufferings, most amply cleared and instructed. To which though *Sir James* hath made an answer for his own vindication, yet

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seeing the same doth for the most part resolve in a simple denial) which it was easy for him to make, having neither accuser nor contradicter) and he at most giveth only an account of, and vindicateth his orders, without much as denying the excess, that might have ensued in that military way of execution, (expressly waving to answer the extortions of these parties, which were commisionated for civil Fines) any further reply were superfluous.

This poor people having continued and lyen under all these miseries, for the space of seven moneths and upward after *Sir James* his third Invasion, and thereby witnessed not only their very firm and Christian Patience towards God; but also given a greater testimony of they loyalty and submission to the King's commands, than all the flattering and flaunting professions of these their adversaries (who rather than to suffer the hundred part of these hardships, would curse both God and their King) will amount to: And knowing by sad experience, that both Separate Petitioning had been by *Sir James* insolently rejected, & that Joint Petitioning was by Act of Parliament condemned, and consequently all hope this way being cut off upon a very Accidental and Indeliberat Occasion, they were stirred up and gave the rise to the actions and commotions following; which was thus.

Sir James still breathing forth persecutions; upon the 13. of November last, ordereth four souldiours, from *Dumfries* to the Parish of *Dalray* in *Galloway*, to poind a poor old mans goods; and in case they should find none, to seise and apprehend his person, and bring him prisoner to *Dumfries*. The Souldiours in prosecution of this order apprehending the old innocent man, bind him hand and foot like a beast, & lay him bound upon the ground, ready to be carried along. When two or three of his neighbours commoved with so great an indignity, come and desire the souldiours to loose him, they, instead of satisfying

their desire, suddenly assault the Countrey men with their swords drawn, and necessitate them to their own defence: Whereupon one of the souldiours being wounded, the other three throw down their Arms, and the poor man is relieved. The Countrey men having thus acquitted themselves against these first aggressors, in prosecution of their own necessary defence, against the violence of 10 or 20 more souldiours, who were oppressing in the same Parish (whom now they had greater cause to fear than before) upon the morrow thereafter, with the assistance of 6 or 7 whom they joined to themselves, they quietly seise upon and secure them, all of them rendering their Arms, except one who was killed in his resistance. After this; the Countrey being a little hereby alarmed, but most of all determined by their former sad experience, that *Mr James* would certainly avenge himself of this affront upon the whole Countrey, without distinction of free and unfree, and that in fury & rage, as far exceeding his former persecutions, as the cause was different, they gather to the number 54 Horsemen with some few Footmen, and instantly resolving upon it, they march towards *Dumfries*, where upon the 15 of November they take *Sir James* prisoner, and disarm the Souldiours that were with him, without harm or violence to any, except the wounding of one man who made more obstinate resistance. Being thus by the overruling hand of Divine Providence, & the force of irresistible necessity, more than by any humane contrivance, engaged in a business of this importance beyond all hope of retreat; and considering how many in the *West* and else where, did groan under the yoke of this wicked Prelacy, and did suffer by their Tyranny, whom the just apprehension of that rigour and cruelty, to which the report of what had hapned would encourage the Adversaries against all without distinction, might perswade yea necessitate to a conjunction, they from *Dumfries* move towards the *West*. In the mean time,

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the report being brought to the Council, the *Archbishop* Presiding & overruling in it, *Lieut. General Dalzel* is immediately ordered to march with all the Forces toward *Glasgow*; which accordingly was done, with more haste, rage, and fury, than if 10000. Infidels had with fire and sword invaded the Land: And a Proclamation is emitted against the *Rebels* (as they called them) risen in Arms in *Galloway*, *Air*, and others Places of the *West*, (when as at this time there were not 40. Men in the *Sherifdom of Air*, who had joyned with them) declaring *this Insurrection to be manifest and horrid Rebellion, and therefore charging the persons accessory, to lay down Arms within 24. hours after publication, without any assurance of Indemnity offered, and lastly, commanding the whole Subjects to be assisting to the Lieu enant General, and being required by him or others in Authority, to rise in Arms, and assist with all their Power, under the Pain of Rebellion.* A Proclamation so full of fury and madness, not only rendering such as were in Arms desperate without hope, except in the cruel mercy of the wicked Prelates; But also engaging all without distinction, either Actively to concur to the destroying of these poor, innocent and afflicted People, or else to prepare themselves for suffering the same pains and punishment, that it may justly be wondred at, that even the single motive of this Proclamation, did not procure to these *Galloway* men, a greater concourse. But the poor handfull being come towards the *West*, and some hundreds there, (whom partly the like pressures and fears of worse, but most of all, the sense and remembrance of the indispenfible obligation of the *Holy Covenant*, for mutual sympathy and defence, and our uttermost endeavours all the dayes of our lives to prosecute the great and blessed Ends thereof, did thereto determine) having in the sincerity and simplicity of their hearts, joyned themselves to that company, most harmelesly and innocensly, without the least violence or exaction done to

any, they march through the Countrey until they come to *Lanerk*. Where, upon the consideration of the Lords wrath, imminent upon the whole land by reason of breach of Covenant, and the many horrid Sins thereon ensuing, and the apprehension of His holy displeasure yet continuing, (whereof, by many visible and afflicting signs and tokens, they were most sadly convinced) as men reduced to the last extremity and in great distress (after the example of *Nehemiah* and the *Jewes*, *Neh. Chap. 9*, and *10*. in the like case) they resolve and do renew the *Solemn League and Covenant*: That (at least) by this Action they might bear Testimony both to the oppressed Cause and Truth of God and their own innocency. From *Lanerk* upon the 26 of *November* they march to *Bathgate*, and the morrow thereafter to *Colington*, a place about two miles distant from *Edinburgh*. That same night *Lieut. Gen. Dalzel* coming to *Calder*, there is a *Cessation* agreed to betwixt them for that night, and until, upon the morrow, their grievances and Petition might be presented to the Council; which they for that effect send to *Dalzel* to be by him transmitted. But as, notwithstanding of this *Cessation*, (and though the same was timously signified to the *Bishop* as *President* of the Council, yet] the Countrey Troops levied about *Edinburgh*, were not restrained from making an in-fall upon their Quarters, where they rested securely upon the trust of the *Cessation*; so upon the morrow, before almost they were aware, & without giving up the *Cessation* agreed to, *Dalzel* finding a nearer way doth almost surprize them: Whereupon they endeavour to march off, but finding the Enemy so near, they are constrained to stand to, & prepare for that Conflict upon the South of *Pentlandhills*: Wherein the *Lieut. Generals* forces & theirs being engaged, the very time & hour that the Gentleman sent by *Dalzel* to the Council, was presenting his letters and the *Westland* men Grievances; these poor men not exceeding eight or nine hundreds, and extremly weakened and spent by

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fore travail and watching, and mostly by their fasting and great abstinence, are (according to the Holy, Wise and determinate Council of God) a little after sun set routed & dissipated. The number of the slain on both sides were reckoned, about 40. and upwards of the *Westlandmen*, and 4. or 5. of the *Generals Forces*. The number of the prisoners was greater, amounting in all to 130. and upward: But, because the threed of this story hath precipitated our narration of this fatal period, the observations following will supply what is omitted.

1. That these men who rose in the *West*, were not only (for the most part) persons of known and very exemplary integrity, piety and zeal for God, and all of them (severally and jointly) so far from base and turbulent designs, that they cannot be supposed by any who know them, to have been Ambitious of either Rule or Riches; but also did with the same straightness and sincerity, in all parts, declare, that their only Motives were the rigour of extreme Necessity, which constrained them to the defence of Religion and Liberty, and the Conscience of that indispensible duty, we all owe to God and one to another, in the bond of the *Holy Covenant*; & in the innocency of a most harmless deportment, did fully conform themselves to these professions. so that it may truly be affirmed, that a company of more sincere, upright and harmless men, did never in any age appear in such a posture. Which as it doth eminently appear, in their sparing and civil usage of *Sir James Turner*, and their abstinence & moderation in all places, not only from Plunder and such insolencies; but even from the necessary means of Subsistence; so it is a truth so certain, that all their enemies [save a few prophane Curates, who spare no lies where they may vent their malice] must and do acknowledge it.

2. That as in many places, there were many found, who joined themselves to the *Licut. General's Forces*, to assist against and suppress that faithful afflicted company; so the

Militia

Militia of Edinburgh (by order from the *Secret Council* to the *Town Council*, & from the *Town Council* to the several Captains, who did administrate it to their respective Companies) did, in opposition to the same persons, take the following Oath, viz. *I shal be true and faithful to the King, and shall defend his Authority and maintain the same, against this Insurrection & Rebellion; & any other that shall happen, with the hazard of my life and fortune; And the two Shires of Middle and East-Lanbians did arm very readily against them: But whether this Insurrection was in Rebellion against the King, or whether this Conjuraton and these Practices, were not a manifest Conspiracy and horrid Rebellion against the great God, a few reflections on what we have premised shall hereafter clear.*

3. That as only the force of Necessity, from the rigour of their persecutions, and the cutting off of all liberty to Petition or hope of Redress, did compel the *West land* men to this course, so upon the first appearance and most slender insinuation of liberty to Represent Grievances to these in Authority, they very willingly and readily embraced the opportunity, and signified to the *Council*, that the only evil under which the Land perisheth, is the Erecting of this wicked and tyrannous *Prelacy* contrary to the Holy Covenant, & the cruel oppression, both in Body and Conscience of all that desire to continue Faithfull therein, but how they were abused in this offer and Transaction, we have before related.

4. That though the wicked Prelats (for the greater exaltation of their pride and triumph, both over God and his Cause) boldly affirmed, that these men were by certain Faithfull Ministers perswaded and brought out, in the full assurance of most certain Victory, and that their Cause was such, that upon the Event they could venture their salvation; yet the contrary is most certainly known, and that they came out, for the most part, most voluntarily and of their own accord; thinking it their duty (as one of them in his Testimony doth declare) to appear for and help the

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Lord against the mighty : And that, though they had and still retain a most firm perswasion of the justice of the Lord's Cause and Covenant, and a very confident assurance that the Lord will arise and own it, to the utter confusion of His adversaries ; Yet, knowing that Times and Seasons are in the Lord's hand, and that the time hath already been, when such who had indignation, and whose heart was against the holy Covenant did prosper, and by Arms pollute the Sanctuary of strength, and place the Abomination that maketh desolate, wherein, though the people that did know their God were strong and did exploits, yet did they fall by the sword, and by flame and by captivity, and by spoil many dayes ; These men did neither limit the Holy One, nor ballance their resolution upon the assurance of future Events : Yea the fear and apprehension of these many visible signs attending this Action, whereby the Lord's standing controversie and continuing displeasure against the Land, for fearfull breach of Covenant, and the many horrible sins that have ensued (which then more than ever were discovered, both in the actuall opposition of many, and faint withdrawing of others, of whom better things were looked for) did justly make them conceive, that as the Lord, who hath ever glorified His own Name, would also now glorify it, both in their active and passive Testimony (a seal which His work and Cause, hath not hitherto so visibly had) And that they were rather there called, than to be the Lands *De ieverers* ; for which, all that fear the Lord may think with trembling, greater judgments are yet ordained.

5. That amongst the many observable providences of God, whereby he brought this Action to its period, the turning from *Lanerk* towards *Edinburgh*, and leaving the *West*, specially these parts where many faithful men were preparing for a Conjunction, doth bear the very eminent characters of the Lord's Work and Purpose, which he hath since made manifest ; and was the occasion of the proscribing of several both Ministers and Gentlemen, as we shall hereafter mention:

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6. That as the *Liuthian* men were very active in appearing against this faithful company; so after the Conflict, they were very vigilant and inhumane to take and spoil all such flyers as they rencountred: A sin which nodoubt, by reason of its greater aggravations, the Lord will require with greater severity, than that of *Edom*, *Obad. 12.* *etc.* who *rejoyced over the children of Judah in the day of their destruction, and laid hands on their substance in the day of their calamity, who stood in the cross way to cut off such as did escape, and delivered up these that did remain in the day of distress;* and therefore he is threatned by the Lord, that *For his violence against his brother, shame should cover him, and he should be cut off for ever.*

Thus we have seen the indignation of the Lord, in the most dreadful and astonishing of all judgements, even his suffering & causing the righteous to fall before the wicked, in delivering the soul of his turtle dove unto the multitude of the wicked. His Name unto reproach and blasphemy, His Strength into captivity, His Glory into the enemies hands, A providence that may justly move our astonishment to a greater height than that of *Josuah c. 7. 9.* *Oh Lord, what wilt thou do unto thy great Name?* And how terrible are the charge and succeeding Judgements which these things do denounce? But the Lord who in wrath remembers mercy, maketh both judgement and mercy his peoples song, and it is to his enemies alone that a cup without mixture is poured out; as the things which follow will declare.

The *Archbishop* of *St. Andrews* having caused celebrate the report of this Victory, with almost as many Guns from the *Castle* as there were men slain in the fields, and as if the 40. had been 40000. Infidels, the prisoners are brought in, and secured. We cannot but here mention the ready and charitablè relief, which many good people in *Edinburgh* did then extend to them; certainly it is gone up for a Memorial before God, & shall have a return. But
who

who can expresse the malice of that Antichristian Spirit, raging both in the *Arch Prelate* and his dependents, which misery it self doth not satiate; and therefore they do so exclaim against this poor expression of humanity, as preposterous and favouring of disaffection, that even some of their own Complices did condemn them for it.

The *Council* falling immediately to the examination of the Prisoners, they remit first 10, thereafter 14. to the *Justices* to be arraigned, or rather condemned as Traitors, they having first determined and prescribed the very manner of their execution: And about the same time the *Commissioner* going West, with some other impowered for that effect, do likewise at *Air* and *Glasgow*, condemn other sixteen. These things we joyn together, because both their Inditements, manner of Tryal, Doom and Execution were the same, except in so far as shall be noted. The Inditement and Charge of Treason exhibited against all, consisted of two heads and crimes, deduced from old and late Acts of Parliament, and aggravated by many circumstances, viz. *rising and gahering in Arms, and renewing the Covenant, without and against the Kings Authority and consent*: Every ones particular accession was libelled from, and proven by his own confession before the *Council*. This place might require a large digression for answering the crimes objected, & clearing the innocency of the Lords Witnesses, but seeing the preceeding Narration doth not only furnish all arguments thereto requisite, but warranteth them by Precedents beyond contradiction, it shall suffice now to observe.

1. That God the Fountain of all Power, and Author of all Right, as, wherever he hath granted to any creature a Being, he hath also armed it with a love and power of *Self Preservation* sutable to its capacity; so much more, where, unto a Being, He hath superadded a Right, as in all rational creatures, which cannot be violated but both

both by force & Injury, hath He granted both the Power and Right of *Self defence*, which is really one and the same thing with it; and in effect nothing else but that divine Impress and rational Instinct, whereby the very course of of Nature is upholden, so inseparable from the Being and Right of the creature, that it never ceaseth, except where by the Sovereign Will and Law of God, the Right is first annulled, and the Being may be destroyed. Which *position*, being the clear and true foundation of all Rule and Righteousness, and even of the Being of all things, it may justly be wondred, that men should be found, who deny and would subvert it in its first, principal and most immediate effects. But if according hereunto any will subsume and prove, that either by the Lords ordaining of powers, or mens Surrender & Submission thereto, (made mainly for Self preservation,) the foresaid Right and Power was or could be revoked or renounced, we shall most willingly quite the plea, and prostitute our selves to all the violences that Tyranny can invent, since in that case there could be no Injury.

2. That as all Societies, Governments and Lawes are appointed in a due Subordination to God and His superior Will and Law, for His Glory and the Common Good of the People, including the safety of every individual; so, if either this Subordination be notoriously infringed, or these Ends intolerably perverted, the common tie of both Society, Government and Law, is in so far dissolved. Hence is it that a King or Rulers commanding things directly contrary to the Law of God, may be and have been justly disobeyed, and by fury or folly destroying or alienating the Kingdome, may be and have been lawfully resisted. These are conclusions which our greatest Adversaries cannot but admit, and are not deducible from any other premisses. Let us hear *King James*, whose loyalty none can doubt, in a speech to the Parliament in the year 1609. he saith, *a King de-*
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generateth into a Tyrant, when he leaveth to rule by Law, much more when he beginneth to invade his Subjects persons, rights and liberties, to set up an arbitrary power, impose unlawful Taxes, raise forces, make war upon his Subjects, to pillage, plunder, wast and spoil his Kingdomes. And lest his consequence be suspected, as if notwithstanding all this, he would have a Tyrant incontrollable, it is upon the same grounds, that in his answer to Cardinal Perron, he justifieth the Protestants in France their Defensive Arms; Now how a discretive judgement in these cases, both of unrighteous commands, and wicked violence, and specially in the latter, which is (by far) the more sensible, doth necessarily remain with the People, and in what manner the same is to be determined and cautioned, so as neither to license disobedience against Authority, nor create sedition in the Commonwealth, is already fully cleared.

3. That though all Sovereign Powers, (upon the supposition of these true and great ends, and the presumption of reason and charity, that the persons intrusted do in like manner really intend them,) be constituted indefinitely, and therefore in appearance universally without restriction; yet according to this known rule, that such particulars, as if expressed, would not (far more if they cannot) be consented to, are not understood to be comprised under a generall condescendence, such exceptions and limitations as are indispensibly implied and could not lawfully be expressly renounced, do stand in full force. Whereupon also both the Righteousness of God's judgements, and the Lawfulness of the Peoples Resistance against mal-versing Powers, are clearly and certainly founded.

4. That not only the light of Nature and undeniable Reason, together with the agreeable Practice of all Nations, specially of our Ancestors, do evidently clear these Principles proposed, but also our own express Statutes

declaring the revealed Word and Will of God to be the Superior Rule and Law, and repealing all Acts repugnant thereto. *Jac. 6. Par. 1. chap. 3, 4, & 8.* and explaining such Acts as were generally made against unlawful Conventions, Leagues and Bonds among Subjects, to be understood with this due Subordination and limitation *Car 1. Par. 1. c. 29.* together with the King and Peoples Oaths of faithful Administration and Allegiance: whereby the Coronation-Covenant & Contract, specially that made with this King (the very bond of the Kingdom) is established & secured, do undoubtedly inferre, beyond all contradiction, that both our Government and Lawes are constituted and to be interpreted with *subordination to the Law and Will of God*, and in order to these great Ends of their establishment.

5. That though prevailing Factions have in all times endeavoured, by their most excessive and boundless flatteries, to exalt and extend the Powers to an equal degree of absoluteness in all Causes and over all Persons, meerly for their own base ends and private advantages; yet if any of these persons would seriously consider, and would ingenuously declare their opinion, in a particular application of the case to themselves, what they would account lawfull for them to do, either jointly or separately, in case that they were injuriously and violently invaded, to the destruction of their Lives or Fortunes, or the subversion of their Families and dearest and nearest Concernments, their resolution in this point would easily justify the practices of all such, who, esteeming the Glory of God, & the maintenance of His Gospel, infinitely preferable to all other Interests whatsoever, do valiantly offer and expose themselves for the vindication thereof, to the greatett hazards.

6. That through the manifest and notorious Perversion of the great Ends of Society and Government, the Bond thereof being dissolved, the persons, one or more thus

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liberated therefrom , do relapse into their prime Liberty and Priviledge, and accordingly as the similitude of their case and exigence of their cause doth require, upon the very same principles again join and associate for their better Defence and Preservation, as they did at first enter into Societies.

7. That we being a Nation so solemnly and expressly engaged by Covenant unto God , and one with another for the advancing and promoting of these holy and important Ends therein contained ; there lyeth upon each and every one of us an indispenfible duty , by all possible means to promote the same , not only in our own conscientious and exemplary walking, and serious admonition and exhortation towards others; but also in endeavouring (in case of Defection) a National Reformation, & valiant vindication of the Glory of God , and His Work and Cause , against all incorrigible Apostates ; as we would not by conniving at their sin be partakers of their Judgement, and as we would by destroying the *accursed* from amongst us , avert the imminent wrath of God from the whole Land and Nation. Which *posfion* as we clearly before asserted, both from the Profession and Practice of our first Reformers; so, that qualification in the Covenant of our endeavours in our places and callings , is most agreeable thereto : seeing the same doth plainly import , that every one is to confine himself to his own place and more in his own sphere , while all in their respective capacities do harmoniously concur in the same work and duty; so if any in higher place and imployment , do not only become remifs and forgetful of the Oath of God ; but according to the extent and influence of their power, would seduce and corrupt their inferiours unto their Apostacy , it is both their place to resist such wickedness and violence , and their calling to endeavour , either the Reformation or Removal of these who prove so contrary to , and obstructive of the ends whereunto they are

ordained

ordained. Neither can this inference appear unwarranted or hard unto any who will impartially consider, that though the same qualification doth in the like manner affect and define all duties whatsoever, which we owe either to God or our Countrey; yet it were most absurd thence to inferre, that if these more eminently intrusted should either turn directly Apostates and enemies to the Christian Faith, or adversaries and destroyers of the Commonwealth, the people of an inferior degree might not step forward to occupy the places, and assert the Interests, which these wicked men had so traiterously forfeited and deserted. All which must necessarily be granted, if it be but rightly considered, that as *Order* and the Observance thereof, is only a mean subordinate to, and intended for the Glory of God and the good of the people; so must all the Regulation and Determination thereof be only admitted, in so far as it is Conducibile, and no wayes to render it Destructive or Repugnant to these great Ends of its appointment. From all which we clearly conclude that these words in the Covenant of *Places and Callings*, are no more Restrictive in the cases above mentioned than a Generals command to his souldiours entering in battel (being thus qualified) doth impede the necessity of Succession (in case of the vacancy of any charge, either through death or desertion) requisit for the obtaining of the proposed end of Victory; but that they are in effect (specially the antecedent and subjoynd words *sincerely; really and constantly, - all the dayes of our life* being considered) rather Exegetick and Ampliative.

8. That whatsoever Laws, Covenants & Engagements were standing & binding unto us, before this late fearful Apostacy and Defection, they are still in the sight of God, and in the Consciences of all that fear his Name, and mind his Glory, the rather more strong and obliging than in the least infringed or dissolved: It being impossible that

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such Sacred Oaths (so solemnly sworn unto the most High) and such Righteous Laws by vertue thereof statuted and enacted , for the carrying on , and establishment of the Work of God thereby intended, should be Ambulatory and Mutable at the pleasure of men; specially of such, who, without regard of God, Conscience, Honour or Honesty , have , in the very pride and power of Wickedness, not only broken the Lords bands , cast away His cords , and violently (under the pretext of abused Authority) overturned his whole Work ; but done despite against the same , both by ignominious Burning and Blaspheming of the Lords holy Covenant. And this *Position Rescissory* we oppose unto their great *Act Rescissory*, and to all Acts and practices of thelike nature antecedent thereto, or dependent thereupon. Being fully perswaded, that though now they appear unequally ballanced , yet the Lord shall declare from heaven His Righteousness , and laugh at his enemies Acts and Devices , and have them all in derision.

9. That though we do heartily approve the *Due* veneration and just esteem of *lawfull Authority* , (the great and excellent Ordinance of God) who to prevent all prejudice that it may incurre, and inconvenience that may ensue thereon , do so far transmit his respect to the person therewith vested , as to hold for a *Maxime* (but indeed equally against Religion , Reason and Experience) that *the King doth no wrong* ; And though we are perswaded , that the true rise and cause of the sin and calamity under which we lye , is from the malice , perjury , flattery and violence of that Antichristian spirit ruling in the apostat Prelates ; and therefore would willingly cloath our selves , even in the sight of man , with that ample Allowance and full Authority , whereby the King did once approve the holy Covenant , and countenance the Lords Work , as if the same did yet stand (as it ought) not retracted or repeal'd. Yet seeing our late Parliament

by their *second Act*, *Selſhon ſecond*, have reprobated and diſcharged all pretences of Authority in this kind, notwithstanding that the ſame hath been, and may be moſt neceſſary in many caſes, for the preſerving of the Kingdom, & ſalving of State-inconveniencies; we do therefore rather ſubſiſt on the former grounds, and turn our complaint and prayer unto God, who is the great King over all, looking for His appearance, and waiting for His ſalvation.

10. That the Glory of God and of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Defence and Maintenance of the bleſſed Goſpel, and its precious Miniſtry and Ordinances; are Duties and Concernments infinitely more important, than the defence and preſervation of our Lives, Liberties and the Commonwealth, againſt the moſt barbarous and horrid violences and injuries that can be imagined: Likeas, the violation and deſtruction of all theſe is ſo evidently deſigned, and wickedly practiſed, by this late and preſent Apoſtacy, that a clearer ground and cauſe of Self defence and Reformation cannot poſſibly be ſuppoſed; ſo that to condeſcend to answer the peeviſh clamours of theſe Neutral and careleſs men, who ſay, *what needeth all this noiſe for the extrinſick and arbitrary forms of Government and modes of Worſhip, both with and without which, Religion and Righteouſneſs have equally flouriſhed and prospered?* Were to ſhut our eyes from beholding the Glory and Grace of God, that in this Land hath ſo viſibly appeared in, and been advanced by this great Ordinance of Presbytery, by himſelf (for that end) appointed; and alſo from the obſerving of theſe deluges of Prophanity, Wickedneſs, Superſtition & Violence, which the Devil, by his great engine of Prelacy, hath alwayes and in all Churches cauſed and procured.

11. That as ſuch was the State, Condition and Engagements of this Church and Kingdom, at the time of the Kings return, and before the reereating of this Prelacy,

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that all and every one of the Nation were most strictly obliged *sincerely, really and constantly* to have resisted and opposed this wicked Defection to the last drop of their blood; so the sinful compliance of many, and woful fainting and withdrawing of others, might indeed incapacitat such as remain faithful from the *best*, but neither could nor can disengage them from their *utmost* endeavours.

From the Grounds and what hath been formerly represented, the argument of the Inditement of Treason above mentioned viz. *That all Convocations and Risings in Arms, or Subjects entering in to Leagues, without or against the Kings Authority, are treasonable: But such was the late Rising and renewing of the Covenant, Therefore &c.* May be easily and clearly answered, that all such Risings and entering into Leagues, as are not warranted and commanded by the Superior Law and Authority of God (who is King of Kings and Lord of Lords) which by our own express Acts and Statutes are acknowledged, and are not founded upon the Fundamental Right, and necessarily intended for the preservation of Religion and Righteousness, the great and principal End of all Laws & Governments, according whereunto our Laws have also by posterior Statutes been expressly interpreted, are indeed treasonable: But such the late Rising was not; but on the contrary was more clearly approven by these grounds, than any other the like Instance, which can be adduced or instructed, from the parallel of any other Age or Nation; Therefore it was altogether Lawful, Righteous and Necessary. Which answer, though the Lords faithful Witnesses did sufficiently insinuat and propone, yet both the Constitution of the Court, and persons of the Judges before whom they were arraigned, were such, as the same was rather accounted an aggravation of their Crime and Treason.

But seeing this was not done, without the specious pre-
texts

texts, not only of iniquous Laws, but also of Religion and Scripture; We shall briefly consider, first, that Queree often made to them, *where they had read, or how they could instruct, that, under the pretence of Religion, it is lawful for Subjects to rise in Rebellion against lawful Authority?* To which it is answered, that this Queree is a clear begging of the question, by expressly supposing that the late Rising was only *in pretence* for Religion, but really in Rebellion, which ought first to have been proved, and is in effect an arrant calumny and falshood. 2. That even the Querce it self seems to imply and grant, that for Subjects to rise in Arms really for the defence of Religion, against the invasions of the Powers, under the pretence of Lawful Authority, is both lawful & laudable: Which being the true case and cause of this late Rising, and so clearly warranted both by the Word and Covenant of God, and the practice of all Reformed Churchess we are content to referre these poor mens Innocency, unto the Consciences and secret thoughts of their adversaries.

Secondly, we shall consider these texts of Scripture which were pretended against the Innocents: And 1. It was much urged that *Rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft*; To which one of themselves did roundly and clearly answer, that, the place having been spoken by the Prophet to a King, because of his disobedience and contempt of the command of God, and not to Subjects, would sooner conclude his Accusers than himself to be a Rebel. Secondly, it is answered, that Rising up against *Authority* it self, the Ordinance of God, and disobeying the Powers therewith vested, standing and acting in their *right line of Subordination*, is indeed Rebellion, and as the sin of witchcraft; but to resist and rise up against persons *Abusing* sacred Authority and *rebelling against God* the Supream, is rather to adhere to God as our Liege Lord, and to vindicate both our selves and his abused Ordinances from mans wickedness and Tyranny.

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The second text objected was that, *Matth. 26. 52.* where even our Lord himself, when violently seized upon by wicked men, but who were then in Authority, did nevertheless restrain his disciples from his own defence and rescue, saying unto Peter, *Put up again the sword into his place : for all they that take the sword, shall perish with the sword ;* To which, as it was sufficiently answered (without any reply) by one of these Impeached, (whom they accounted distracted, though without the least appearance of impertinency) who thereto did oppone *Luke 22. 36.* Where our Lord, speaking at the same time and to the same purpose, saith, *he that hath no sword, let him sell his garment, and buy one ;* Yet for further clearing, we say, 1. That from the place it self in all the *Evangelists*, it is most evident, that that command was given, and these words spoken by our Lord, only for to testify his voluntar submission unto the Fathers will, by laying down of his life for fulfilling of the Scripture, as is clear from the same 26. of *Matth. v. 54.* and *John 18. 11.* otherwise the context being considered (that not only in *Luke 22:36* cited, He, forewarning his disciples of hazards to come, adviseth them to provide swords and weapons ; and in the 26. of *Matth.* asserts his power to have called 12 legions of Angels to his assistance, which clearly implyes the lawfulness thereof) this Scripture objected doth more confirm than impugn the Lawfulness of *Defensive Arms.* 2. Is it possible that men should be so much demented by flattery, as to think that it was unlawful for Jesus Christ the Mighty God and Lord over all, to have defended himself by the assistance of his Disciples, against the horrid Wickedness and Insurrection of the vilest of His creatures, had it not been, that it was necessary that the Scriptures concerning him should be accomplished? 3. Where our Lord saith in the place objected, *all they that take the sword, shall perish with the sword,*

52. He thereby only condemneth Unjust and Offensive war; so the Saying it self, by its latter part, doth tacitely imply the Lawfulness and Justice of both *Defensive* and *Vindictive Arms*, the same being otherwise justly founded.

Though these Texts were only objected, yet to help our Adversaries, who are known not to be much conversant in the Scripture, and to obviate the scruples that may thence arise to others, we subjoyn a third text *Iohn* 18. 36. where our Lord saith, *if my Kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Iewes*, whence some inferre, that all Arms, even in Defence of Religion, are unlawfull and prohibited; But it is answered, as the intent and scope of our Lord's answer, was to clear himself of that calumny objected against Him by the *Iewes*, that he made Himself a King in opposition to *Cæsar*, so the meaning of it is plain and obvious, to wit, that our Lord's Kingdom is not of the Nature and for the Ends, for which other Kingdoms of this world were instituted; but wholly spiritual for declaring the Truth, and thereby gaining souls unto glory: Whence as our Lord would there inferre that he came not to conquer to himself Disciples by outward force, and thereby to gain followers by the spoiling of *Cæsar* and other Princes; so it is without all shadow of connexion thence to conclude, that a people having received the blessing of the Gospel and Kingdom of Jesus Christ, should without Resistance suffer themselves (to the manifest dishonour of God and the hazard of the eternal damnation of themselves and their posterity) to be impiously and sacrilegiously spoiled and deprived thereof, when they are in a capacity to defend the same. The truth whereof, together with the hypocrisy of our Adversaries, may soon be discovered, if the Question be but stated in the terms of one Forraign and independent Prince's invading another, meerly upon the account of

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the Christian Faith ; and whatever solution or evasion they shall herein make , will as exactly quadrat to the case in hand , it being almost ridiculous to conceive, that the greatest aggravation of Invasions of this Kind , to wit, that it is made by a Prince upon his own Subjects (whose Profession he himself is principally bound to maintain) should import any speciality and difference in the cases. The last text is that of *Matth. 5. 39* and remanent verses to the end , where our Lord saith ; *resist not evill , but whosoever shall smite thee , &c.* with the other parallel places, specially *Rev. 13. 10.* But it is answered, that as these places do enjoyn either patience, when the clear call and dispensations of God do inevitably call unto suffering , without which, patience, were no patience but rather stupidity; or that bounty and debonairity which our Lord would have his disciples to practise , in the remitting and dispensing with the utmost extensions and points of Right, for the better reproving and condemning of the animosities and rigid contentions of men, for matters of small or no moment, and the more effectuall commending the grace and peace of the Gospel ; So thence to inferre that men should give way to all Violence and Sacriledge (to the subverting of Religion and Righteousness) is, after the manner of Sathan , to cheat and abuse men by the holy Scriptures of Truth unto wickedness and error ; and grossly to exceed that signal rule mainly in these places intended , to wit , that we should *be perfect even as our Father which is in Heaven is perfect* , who , though he filleth the earth with his goodness , and extendeth his bounty unto all , causing the Sun to rise upon the evill and on the good , yet doth he love righteousness , and helpeth and delivereth the oppressed , and commandeth the zeal of his own glory (wherein He himself doth often eminently appear) by the hand of His people , to take vengeance on His adversaries. Let us therefore in the consideration of what is said *Rev. 13. 10.* *be that leadeth into*

capti-

captivity, shall go into captivity; he that killeth with the sword, must be killed with the sword, both possess our souls in patience under all the former sufferings, and hope and rejoyce in the faith of the succeeding delivery there subjoynd.

These are the Defences which these Faithful men did summarily hint at, and being often interrupted, were scarcely permitted to propone: All which being rejected as unworthy to be heard, what wonder, if what their *Advocates* did plead in their defence, upon the point of *Quarter* given to some of them in the field, was also repelled? We are not to dip in matters of this kind; but certainly it much discovereth the spirit of malice and violence that now prevaileth, that neither the Nature and Import of *Quarter*, which pertaineth nothing to Grace or Pardon (whereof these men were declared incapable) but is a *passion of the Law of Nations*, whereby the person worsted, by quitting of his arms, (the only and oftentimes the probable means either of his safety or vengeance) doth condition for, and redeem his immunity as to life; Nor yet the honour of the Granters, Persons Commissionated by the King for the command of his Forces, with the common Priviledges and dignities belonging to such Offices; Nor yet the Practice of all Nations about, even in the case of *Intestine War*; Nor the rational arguments of humanity and prudence, not to reduce men to utter despair in succeeding Insurrections (from which no Kingdom is priviledged) Nor lastly, the Paucity of these few innocents, not exceeding 5 or 6 who could have been thereby benefited (there being many other taken and not upon *Quarter*) could prevail against that Pedantick distinction *inter bellum justum & injustum*. But this being alleaged to have been *bellum injustum*, (as indeed it was in the justest sense) therefore no faith nor *Quarter* must be herein observed, *quia, sc. adversus Hostes tantum est Bellum, ac in Perduelles, judicium*, as if from this, one should conclude, that though in *War* there may be faith and *Quarter*,

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yet in *Iudgement* there ought neither to be Truth nor Performance.

All defences therefore being repelled, these persons accused were all condemned to be hanged to death as Traitors, and their Heads and right Hands to be cut off, to be disposed on by the *Council*, and their Goods and Estates to be forfeited to the Kings use. And accordingly upon several dayes, this Sentence was executed upon thirty five of these faithful men, and by Ordinance of *Council*, the heads of many of them were affixed upon the Ports of several Burghs; and the right hands of the first ten (to the high contempt of God and His holy Covenant, and to the provocation of His jealousy) on the *Tolbooth* of *Lanerk*, where the Covenant was by them solemnly renewed and sworn. As for the other five, they were and are reprimed; One of them, who in all his Tryall, to the conviction of all appeared most constant in the Covenant, and bold and pertinent in his Testimony, upon the colour of a fit of distraction (by which he was once vexed) and through the intercession of many in his behalf; Another of them, for his vile and abject fainting to the very reproach of humanity, redeeming his life by becoming *Hangman* to seven of his fellows, when two ordinary Executioners in the Burghs about had plainly refused, declaring they would have nothing to do with the blood of such Righteous men; and one of them therefore imprisoned. The other three, partly because of their fainting and condescendence to take the *Declaration*, and partly through the favour and intercession of Friends.

We shall not, nor cannot enter upon the particular declaration of that Grace, Constancy and Courage, by which the Lords faithful Witnesses were sustained; and did bear Testimony to the Word of his Truth, the holy Covenant, and the Cause and Work of God. Only this is certain, that the Lord did not more desert that vile abject person to the weakness of flesh and blood, whereby he was depressed

below

below the very contempt of men, then by his Grace, and Glory, evidently to manifest the power thereof, He was eminently present with such as he honoured to be his Witnessees, to cause them contemn and triumph over Principalities and Powers, hell and death, and all their terrors; as may be evident from these things following.

1. That the *Council*, pitching upon those men without choice, for a Test of discrimination did require several of them, by taking the *Declaration*, to renounce the Covenant; which they constantly refused. And so were Martyred, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection.

2. That *Mr Hew Mackaile*, a young man of 25. years of age, and an Expectant in the Ministry, being arraigned and accused through meer spite of the *Archbishop of St Andrewes*, (against whose Judas-like Apostacy he had preached four years ago) for no greater accession, than that he had been some few dayes with these that rose, with a sword (having been most uncircumspectly taken, leaving them because of his infirmity and weakness the day before the Conflict) did not only most patiently endure cruel Torture whereby he was examined, for the discovery of the contrivance of that Rising, which all men knew and saw to be Indeliberat; but, notwithstanding the promise of favour plainly made to him upon condition of ingenuity (which he sincerely used) being also condemned, did utterly reject all insinuations made unto him upon condition of the least Retraction; and bitterly mourning for, and repenting of his apparent fainting and relinquishing, though it really proceeded more from his infirmity, than fear or love of life, but rejoycing in his own folly, whereby the Lord did bring him to such a manifestation of his Grace, and declaration of his Glory, he, to the admiration of all, in his most constant & Christian

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Christian suffering, by his blood sealed the Truth and glorified God.

3. That others of them, though obscure and illiterate men, upon the Scaffold hurried and interrupted in the declaring of their Testimony, by the Prelats Orders, and the rudeness and inhumanity of these that executed them; yet did bear witness to the cause of God, and of that grace and assurance, whereby the Lord upheld them, to the admiration and astonishment of all the beholders.

4. That though at *Glasgow* and *Air*, where eleven of them were executed, [all mean Countrey men, and some of them of decrepit age, and others of them very young, not exceeding 18. years] their enemies caused beat drums about the Scaffold that they might not be heard [a barbarity never practised in *Scotland*, and rarely heard of, except in the Duke of *Alvas* Martyring of the Protestants in the *Low countreyes*] yet were they so little thereby amazed, that both by words of Praise and thanksgiving to God, that had honoured such *plough men* [as they termed themselves] to be his witnesses, and the constancy of their countenance and whole carriage, they did bear such testimony to the holy Covenant, as both many were thereby confirmed, and their Enemies ashamed.

5. That though some of them did appear weak and faint hearted at first, yet so powerfully and abundantly was it given to them *in that hour*, that out of weakness they were made strong; and declared that they had seen such glimpses of the Glory of God betwixt the prison and the Scaffold, that all fear was clearly discussed; And particularly a young Countrey boy, not much above sixteen years of age, being condemned at *Air*, mostly because he did refuse to take the Declaration, which they told him, was the renouncing of that Covenant which he had taken at *Lanerk*; and though, both through fear and ignorance of the very grounds of Christianity, he fell into great anxiety,

riety, neither daring to die, nor yet to redeem his life at the rate proposed; Yet after the Prayers and Conference of some that had access to him at *Irwin* two dayes before his death, on the morning that he suffered, he appeared so much changed, both from the depth of fear and perplexity unto great resolution and joy, & so much enlightened, with the knowledge of God in our Lord Jesus Christ, and the hope of Salvation through His Name, that all that saw him, do bear testimony to the Grace and wonderful Work of God, and of that joy of heart, that carried him to the Scaffold, leaping and praising God.

From all which particulars, and from the several Testimonies and Speeches, which these left behind them in writing, we must conclude and rejoyce, that God out of the dark cloud of such a sad and astonishing providence which lately over spread us, hath brought forth so blessed and bright a cloud of Witnesses, strengthened and filled with so much grace and glory, to bear Testimony unto His Name, Covenant and Cause and for the confirmation of all that love and wait for His Salvation.

We have hitherto omitted, to say any thing to that Oath of Conjurati^on taken by the Militia of Edinburgh, and the concurrence and assistance of many others, who did either Actually rise in Arms for the suppressing of God's People and Cause, or since the Conflict did stop, apprehend, and spoil them in the cross way, and have been assisting and abetting to their deaths and persecutions, either as *Guarders of Prisons, Courts or Scaffolds, as to Judges, Clerks, Advocats, Assizers, or Officers* in the Dooms pronounced against them. If, after all the truth, equity and reason that have been represented, and the Power and Glory which God hath declared, men will not hear and fear, nor be converted, neither the tongues of men and Angels, nor of such as should return from the dead, would be

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be of any force or perswasion to prevail with them. Is it possible, that *Edinburgh* should think that the pretence of new invented Oath of *Alleageance* and *fidelity* to the King & for the defence of his Authority against all Insurrection and Rebellions, wherein the *Prelates* and the *Up* hold their wickedness, and the Subjecting of all the Godly to their lust and tyranny, were and are clearly intended and designed, shall warrand them in the great day of the Lord (who is terrible unto the Kings of the earth) for taking part with Rebels and Apostats against the God of heaven, and for opposing and oppressing of such, as, continuing steadfast in the common Cause and Covenant (for which *Edinburgh* was once very honourable and eminent) did only endeavour to liberat themselves from that intolerable Bondage both of Bodies and Consciences (more grievous than death) under which they groaned? doth *Edinburgh* thus not only condemn the practice of Our Noble Ancestors and Reformers, who accounted it neither Insurrection nor Rebellion to set themselves for the defence of the Gospel against the then Powers, who did endeavour to oppress, but by this Oath, abandon both Religion and Liberty, in this so perillous and backsliding a Generation, to the lust and tyranny of abused Authority, and whatsoever it shall please to impose, without control or contradiction? Do they thus remember the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant once so powerfully sworn and owned amongst them, and the mutuall defence and assistance, Wherein every one of us is thereby bound to another, to the uttermost of our Power, against all sorts of persons whatsoever, and not suffer our selves, by whatsoever Combination, Error or Persuasion, to be divided and withdrawn from that blessed Union therein contained? While on the contrary, they conspire and conjure themselves against such, whom they are not only bound to assist, but also to relieve of all the persecutions and oppressions which they suffer and sustain, only for their adherence to the same holy Covenants. Surely these things being

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being duly considered, this Oath, in stead of qualifying the Declaration (in lieu whereof, being more general, feasible and insnaring it was contrived and imposed) will be found a practical application of all the Wickedness and Righteousness, which is therein only speculatively declared; and may in the righteous judgement of God, by reason not only of the equality, but even of the excess thereof in Londons sin, bring upon Edinburgh, Londons plagues and judgements. We need not here insist to testify against the rest, who in any sort concurred or assisted in the opposition and persecution above mentioned, the measure of whose accessions, doth far exceed Pauls sweeping the cloathes of such as stoned Stephen. If we consider that the suffering and not opposing, to the utmost of our power, the shedding of innocent blood, doth involve all under that certain denunciation made by Jeremiah unto the Princes of Iudah, and all the people, Jer. 26: 15. saying, *Know ye for certain, that if ye put me to death, ye shall surely bring innocent blood upon your selves, and upon this city, and upon the inhabitant thereof; the most innocent amongst us, will find himself more concerned to repent of his own, than censure others for their accession. The serious thoughts whereof, may and ought justly to cause us tremble, lest our Manasseh like sin in shedding of innocent blood, provoke the Lord to wrath in such a measure as he will not pardon.*

But when we do reflect upon the rage, cruelty and barbarity that have ensued, the things that we have mentioned, may justly appear to be but the Beginnings of evils. For first, immediatly after the Conflict, the Arch Prelat procureth a proclamation to be emitted Prohibiting the rescue and concealment of, or correspondence with any of the poor men that had escaped, or had been accessory unto the late Rising, and ordaining all to pursue them as the worst of Traitors, under the pain of being accounted guilty of the same Rebellion. In which Proclamation, after the Arch Bishop had impudent-ly and absurdly laboured, that several persons, against whom,

whom, not so much as any delation or ground of suspicion could be alleaged, should, contrary to all reason, be insert, he at length prevailed that about 57 Gentlemen, Ministers and others, alleaged more eminently guilty, should be therein by Name expressed. Certainly if it be considered, that neither Reason nor Prudence do advise to seek Security only in Revenge, but rather by an attemperation of Clemency, in cases of this nature, to bring things to a compofure, we must conclude, that such courses are only the product of blind prelatick-fury. 2. After the first executions at *Edinburgh*, the *Commissioner* and *Lieutenant General* march unto the *West*, and there having condemned and executed several persons, as we have before mentioned, the *Lieutenant General* staying behind, taking up his Quarter at *Kilmarnock*; and there, and from thence doth practise and issue forth such orders of cruelty, as the barbarity thereof may very probably render the Narration suspected.

For 1. The Countrey is burthened with such Localities of Corn and Straw for Troop-horses, (more than double the number of these that were amongst them) that to redeem themselves from the drudgery, they not only are content to quite the prices, which the troopers ought to pay, but also to pay in to them such summs of Money, as upon computation will equalize the valued rent of the Shire.

2. Notwithstanding of all the Excise, Fines and Taxations imposed and levyed for the maintenance of these Forces; yet upon pretence of want of moneys and Pay, the souldiours were shortly thereafter permitted to take free Quarter; and consequently are licensed to all the abuses, that either rapine or cruelty may suggest.

3. *Dalzel*, at and by his own hand, hath privately in his own chamber and Quarters, not only by words menaced such, as after publick examination upon the account of Intelligence, had been acquitted; but also really (by fire

and sword, threatening to kill out-right, or roast and burn alive, such who being groundlessly questioned, had upon the first examination declared all they knew) examined men by tortures.

4. Such persons as he happeneth to apprehend; whether upon the suspicion of their having been with these that rose in Arms, or having reset such after the Conflict, are thereupon ordinarily stript naked to their shirts and breeches, and thrust into Prisons, in cold, hunger, nakedness, and sometimes in extreme straitness; As in *Kilmarnock* into dark and obscure little holes, which being destined for one man or two, and not capacious of more (though standing upright) than ten or twelve, they are so pinched, that not one of them can possibly so much as relieve himself of the continual pain of standing, by suffering his body to sink unto the ground; and unto all the former miseries have that of their own dung and excrements superadded: so that the poor men would often chuse death rather than life. Amongst which cruelties and rigours, that practised upon a petty *Heritor* in or about the Parish of *Vchiltry*, deserveth to be remembered; Who, being apprehended upon a groundless suspicion of reset of Traitors (as they tearm them) was brought to *Kilmarnock-Tolbooth*; where, being an old man full of obstructions, he was suffocated with the smoak, there occasioned by a coal fire, wanting a chimney-vent, that often-times a day the souldiours have in derision carried him out as dead, and after a little recovery by reason of the free Air, with cruel scorn ignominiously returned him unto his prison. Which Barbarity they still continued, until by extremity of such usage, he is reduced to such weakness as there is little hope of life.

5. There is one Act, so far beyond, and without all shew and pretence of Humanity and Justice, as scarce any preface or Testimony is sufficient to perswade the belief

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of it; which is thus. *Dalzel* having ordered a party of *Newmils* to seise and apprehend one *Finlaw*, living peaceably in his own house, and they about the time of *Dalzel*'s return from *Air*, returning and bringing with them the prisoner, he instantly calleth him to his chamber, and examineth him privately (without so much as any one witness present) whether or not he was with the *Rebels at Lanerk*; the man in answer declareth, that he was there when they came to the place, but upon the account of his own private affairs. The *General* asketh in the next place, whom he knew to have been there amongst them, and because the man (by declaring his ignorance) appeared unwilling to discover any, he instantly calleth the *Lieutenant* of the Guard, and giveth orders to carry the poor man to the Gallows, and there to shoot him dead. The man being thus hurried away, when he is brought to the place of execution, questioneth the *Lieutenant*, if the *General* was serious in what he had ordered: Whereunto the *Lieutenant* replyeth, that he knew nothing to the contrary; the poor man declaring his innocency, obtesteth him, both upon the grounds of Humanity and Christianity, that he would at least obtain him a reprieve for that night, that he might prepare for Death and Eternity, and with some importunity prevailleth to move him to return to *Dalzel* for a grant of the licence desired: But the *Lieutenant*, in place of relenting, doth most severely threaten the *Lieutenant* himself, telling him that he would teach him to obey his orders precisely, without pleading for mitigation; whereupon the *Lieutenant* returning to the place, immediatly ordereth the poor man to be shot, who was instantly stript naked and left dead upon the ground. A fact so Barbarous & Cruel, and in effect so plain a Murder, being destitute of the least shadow of either Ordinance or Martial Law to colour it, that the horror thereof may justly render it incredible.

6. As this last Act is such as barbarity it self would condemn

demn, so it is well known that this man *Dalzel* was there-
fore brought from *Musco*, where it was supposed he had
learned to comply with that Arbitrary Tyranny, and to
exercise that Barbarous Cruelty, which there more than
in any part of the Christian World, is wickedly practised,
as the only proper Executioner, agreeably and accurate-
ly to serve the rigour & violence of this accursed Prelacy.
Which expectation he hath not at all frustrated: For both
he and the *Arch prelate* of *St Andrews*, are so wickedly ac-
cused by the same spirit of spite, rage and wickedness, that
they have often grieved and openly complained, that such
whom they have supposed, and would have instantly and
utterly destroyed as criminals (according to the excess
of their own lust and malice, without respect to any mea-
sure or proposition of Justice) should either be proceed-
ed against, or punished according to the tenor of Law;
accounting and impudently declaring, that these *Formali-*
st (as they are pleased to term the very substantials of
Law, and the great security of all mens lives and for-
tunes) were, and are in their opinions mostly obstructive
to the Kings service. It were endless to enumerat all the
tricks, extortions, cruelties and exactions that this *Mus-*
co beast hath acted and doth practise upon that poor
countrey of the *West*, where retaining some of his forces,
both Horse and Foot, the most slender suspicions, or the
smallest surmises, though never so false, are accounted
crimes and convictions; and immediately punished with
such rigorous imprisonment as we have already described;
by oppressive Quartering, not only on the person suf-
fected, but also on the whole bounds about: In which
Quartering, the souldiours do behave themselves with
such insolency and rapine, that not only many hundreds
of families are reduced to beggery, but in several Pari-
shes, the countrey almost laid waste and desolate; So
that now it is the common report and perswasion of
all,

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all, that the *West* is appointed for ruine and destruction.

7. Seeing this is the case of almost that whole Countrey without respect to guilt or innocency, how hard and lamentable is the condition of such who were in the late Rising, and have hitherto escaped? It is impossible fully to represent all their sore distress and great perplexity which they sustain, wandering and hiding themselves in woods, mountains and caves of the earth, afflicted with all the pain and misery, that the extremity of cold, nakedness and hunger, with the continual uncertainty of their Lives, can lay upon them, and hunted more than Partridges, by the vigilant and cruel malice of their adversaries. We know that some of our prophane Apostate Preachers (who not only think the fiery tryal a strange thing, and are offended at the cross of *Christ*, but preferring this worlds ease to their everlasting rest, do neither hearken to the warning, nor believe the promised and often experienced consolation of suffering) have wickedly judged these poor men and their cause by the event, and affirmed that curse *Isa. 8: 21.* to be on them accomplished: But as both the sin of Sorcery and the sting of this threatening, imbittered fretting to the cursing of God, the very worm of the damned here recorded do clearly discover and confute this calumny; so are the Apostate calumniators plainly and directly therein condemned, who, having such evident tokens of perdition, as their vile Apostacy and cruel persecution and reproachments, may and ought to tremble in the preapprehensions thereof which, without serious repentance, they cannot escape, when the righteous God, who upholdeth his own weakness and strength and joy in tribulation, shall hereafter give unto them, though now troubled, rest with all saints.

But not only time, but heart and tongue would fail a Christian, to relate all the violences, plunderings, extortions and insolencies, that from the beginning of the Apostacy, until this day have been and are committed

Milner

Military Force among us, first upon *Galloway*, then upon
Galloway and *Nithsdale*, and now upon the whole
: which as they have been Extended in bounds,
are they continually Intended in cruelty. Only this
shall say, if stobbing, wounding, beating, strip-
ing and imprisoning mens persons, violent breaking of
houses both by day and night, and beating and
wounding of wives and children, ravishing and deflowr-
ing of women, forcing wives and other persons by fired
bricks and other tortures to discover their husbands
and nearest relations, although it be not within the com-
pass of their knowledge, and driving and spoiling all their
goods that can be carried away, without respect to guilt
or innocency, in as cruell a manner as ever *Scotland* saw
exercised amongst them by a forrain enemy (as can be in-
ferred from every corner of that **Countray**) May repre-
sent our present slavery and bondage; certainly the same is
much the more miserable and insupportable, in that all
this wickedness is most unnaturally perpetrated, both by
their own Countrey-men and Sworn brethren, and so
much the rather to be laid to heart by all, that, as all these
things are only acted and allowed by the wicked malice
and blind fury of this prevailing Prelatick party, and
their satisfying their insatiable hatred and revenge against
their opposers, so is the whole Kingdom thereby
disabled, and most obviously in these most dangerous
times, exposed to the Invasion of any Forrainer; As
may be very evident from these considerations. 1. The
strength and better part of the Kingdom, is al-
ready disabled, not only by the above-mentioned op-
erations, but by generall disarming, and taking of
serviceable horses, and likely very shortly to be totally
ruined and ruined. 2. The *North* and *High-Lands* have
of late so much neglected and connived at, through
the prevailing wickedness of the times, that they are
holly in disorder, and all places about infested by most

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insolent rapines and murthers : but since the Actors are void both of Religion and Conscience, they cannot now be guilty of either Rebellion or Sedition, and since they are rather favourers of, than enemies to *Prelates*, it is no matter how great enemies they be to Righteousness.

3. The whole Kingdom is so exhausted by exactions and impositions, so vexed by generall oppression and disorder, from which the wickedness of Prelatick Rulers suffer no place to be exempted; and so disgusted with the violence and inhumanity they see done to their brethren (their own flesh) for such slight and unworthy causes and occasions, as the worst of men not interested, do justly apprehend Prelacy and Conformity to be, that all are either disabled, or disheartned, or disobliged from the service of King and Countrey.

4. There remaineth no strength nor force amongst us, but these two regiments of foot and nine troops of horses, which even with the addition of the five more intended, will not in all exceed 2000 foot and 1000 horse, and yet are they all and more than the Countrey can well bear, and these so debauched by licentiousness, cruelty and rapine, that neither can their hearts endure, nor their hands be strong against an enemy. These are the fruits of our departing from the Lord, and again erecting and admitting this accursed Prelacy. O! that God would cause us to know how evill and bitter they are; but the *Prelats*, who fear not God, regard not the Commonwealth, let the Covenant and Conscience be rooted out, then come on us what will, these are the only enemies of their usurpations and wicked lusts, and therefore must be accounted so both to King and Countrey; against these are our forces levied and maintained, and unto this design their numbers must be modelled, and our exactions proportioned: The improving of the Countrey, and establishing of the *Militia* conform to our ancient Laws and Liberties, may possibly be the *Prelats* enemies; surely that course would not so

lently press Conformity, and execute their cruelty, nor so largely gratify a few Nobles, who by the command of the troops must be made sharers of the spoil and booty, and so engaged for these vile Prelates against the poor Countrey. O blinded Nobles ! are not the wealth and peace of the Countrey your riches and stability ? O abject Scotland ! how art thou abandoned ?

This being the design, rage and jealousy of the tyrannizing Prelats, in order thereunto there must be five troops more added to these already levyed, and the Countrey yet more oppressed for the securing and establishing of their wickedness. 2. They are endeavouring by all means to have the *Declaration* against the Covenant generally pressed, that either by violent straining they may destroy all conscience thereof, or may more fully discover, and more effectually reach all the faithful in the Land, whom by the test of a refusal they purpose to stage and severely punish as enemies to Authority. We shall not offer here to add any thing against this *Declaration*. If all that the Lord hath done in this Land, now by the space of near an 100 years, all that his servants have formerly declared and testified, and now of late have witnessed and sealed with their blood, and all the tenor and purpose of this discourse avail not to justify our holy Covenants, & condemn this horrid Apostacy and wicked *Declaration*, nothing certainly will be able to perswade, and the mighty power of God can only convert. Only we have reason to fear that the same spirit of deceit, which, under the colour of due obedience to lawful Authority, ensnared wretched *Edinburgh* to a combination and conspiracy against the Lord and his Anointed, may renew the same practice upon the whole Land, for the more easy involving of such in this Apostacy, whom possibly the gross and palpable wickedness of the *Declaration* might deterre : And to such we give this warning, that as all Powers are subordinat to the most High, and appointed

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and limited by his holy will and commandment, for his ownglory and the Peoples good; and as our Alleageance was, and standeth perpetually and expressly thus qualified, *viz. in defence of Religion and Liberty*, according to our first and second Covenants; and lastly, seeing all Alleageance and obedience to created Power whatsoever, (though in the construction of charity apparently indefinite, yet) of its own nature is indispenfibly thus restricted; To renew the same, or take any the like Oath of Alleageance purely and simply, purposely omitting the former and due Restriction, especially where the Powers are in most manifest and notorious Rebellion against the Lord, and opposition to his Cause and Covenant, is in effect equivalent to an express rejecting and disowning of the same Limitation, and of the Sovereign Prerogative of the Great God and King over all, which is thereby reserved; and as in plain terms to affirm, *that whatever abused Authority shall command or do, either to the overturning of the Work of God, subverting of Religion, destroying of Rights and Liberties, or persecuting of all the Faithful to the utmost extremity, we shall not only stupidly endure it, but actively concurre with and assiste in all this Tyranny.* And if this be not more, yea double wickedness above all that the Declaration doth import, let all men consider. O! all ye who desire to behold the good that God will do for his people, beware of this high Rebellion against him.

3. As all restraints of either Conscience or Law are now wickedly taken off, & only a convenient opportunity waited for, to reintroduce that dead carcase of Formality, the *Service book*, and the whole bulk of these corrupt Ceremonies and pernicious Superstitions, that have been formerly, and alwayes found so destructive to the light and power of the Gospel, and are so vain and ridiculous in themselves, that nothing but the very spirit of darkness & judicial delusion from the Lord, can induce men to such fopperies; so may we certainly expect the reimposing of this heavy yoke, and all the Sin, Superstition, Persecution and Wrath which necessarily

necessarily do attend it, except we abide stedfast in the Lords Cause and Covenant, instantly intreating and patiently waiting for his Salvation, and glorious appearance again in this Land.

Thus we have represented in part both the Sin, Sufferings and Distresses that ly upon the whole Land; which though they be most heavy and grievous in themselves, yet are they in their Tendency and Presage more to be regarded. Can any man seriously look upon the hatred and scorn of that Light and Truth, wherein once we glorified, the spite against the Holy Covenant, and all Conscience, the Blasphemy and sin against God, and the violence and persecution against all such as fear His Name, whereby the enemy rageth, and their tumult continually increaseth, and not be astonished? Is there any who believeth that God is, and that His words are Truth, and all His Wayes judgement, His Threatnings sure & certain his jealousy as a consuming fire, His wrath so dreadful, and His indignation so terrible, that only the same Omnipotency which inflicteth the strokes, can sustain poor passive wretches from evanishing as its smallest rebukes, and yet shall sustain them eternally, and not tremble because of the provocation of all these Abominations? O! that such whom the Love of Christ hath not constrained, nor the tears and weeping of a departing Saviour moved, might be yet perswaded by the Terror of the Lord, and that the dread of God might make their hearts soft. Surely abounding sin is the greatest Woe, and prevailing transgression the greatest cause of mourning; but above all sins and transgressions, Christ despised in his Gospel and Ordinances, and persecuted in his members, is the most mournful and fearful: Which as it scattered and destroyed the Lords peculiar People and Nation, dear to him above all Nations, and hath overturned and ruined the fairest part of the Christian World, either in Barbarity or gross Darkness; so is it the great condemnation of the whole World. This is the work and wickedness of accur-

sed Prelacy, most Perjurious in its Rise, and ever Antichristian in its Designes and Effects, as all who have hearts to understand what we have here declared, and eyes to see the present state and condition of matters, must and will acknowledge. This is thy Sin, O Scotland, and, if mercy prevent it not, shall be thy ruine. This is the Voice, Testimony and Warning of all the sufferings of the Lords people; who though continually afflicted and persecuted in their bodies, and though their souls be exceedingly filled with the contempt of the proud; yet have not, nor dare not deny the Lord, his Work, nor his holy Covenant: whom though the Lord hath caused to turn back from the enemy, and given for a spoil to them that hate them, yea given them as sheep for meat, and made them a reproach, a scorn and a derision; yet have they not forgotten the Lord, nor dealt falsely in his Covenant. O! that men would consider this Grace of God, whereby as he comforteth and sustaineth his servants in all their afflictions; so he warneth backsliders to return, and all to flee from the wrath that is to come, and to save themselves from this wicked generation: Which Grace, as it allayeth to the Faithful the smart, so ought it to remove from all the scandal of our Lords cross, and is indeed that strength and presence of the Captain of our salvation (who was made perfect by suffering) with all his sufferers, giving for the present joy and peace, and afterwards assured victory.

Now, seeing it is the Lord who hath so visibly brought upon us these sore Trials, that such as are approved may be made manifest, and so graciously delivereth them from the temptation thereof, yea thereby refines, purifies and maketh many white, that they may be more abundant Partakers both of His Holiness and of His Glory, and also eminently beareth witness to the Truth, Grace and Power of His great Work, His holy Covenant, and precious Ordinances and Ministry amongst us, clearing them by His own Testimony of all these calumnies, wherewith

either

either through the invention of some mens malice, or the occasion of other mens weakness and sin, they were formerly aspersed, we shall shut up this discourse with this one word of exhortation.

Great hath been the Sin of this Land in not believing and obeying the glorious Gospell, in not receiving the Lord Jesus in our hearts, and witnessing His Light and Grace and Glory in our lives and conversations, but in resting on the outward forms and appearances of the true Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government, without labouring after the power of Reformation, and beauty of holiness (the only grace and blessing of all these enjoyments) and in perverting and mannaging the possession and profession of all these things unto selfish ends and worldly advantages. O foolish people and unwise, have we thus requited the Lord, for all these mercies of His Gospell, pure Ordinances and Holy Covenants, to corrupt and deprave them from that great end of the Glory of His grace, and mercy in our salvation, unto the base designs of serving and satisfying our own lusts to His dishonour? And therefore is it that the Lord, having often in his mercy corrected and warned us, hath now at length given us over unto this horrid Apostacy and Defection; whereby, as the latent malice and hypocrisy of many, and the great fainting and want of zeal in all, have been manifestly discovered; so the Lord is feeding the wicked with their own delusions, and putting the zeal and constancy of all to the Test, and in effect ripening this whole Land, either for a glorious deliverance from that perverse spirit and generation of *Antichrist*, that hath been long mingled in the midst of us, and even from the dayes of our first Reformation, hath retained and continued the old enmity against the Lord Jesus and His blessed Gospell and Kingdom; or else for a totall and final overthrow in utter darkness and desolation. And therefore O *Scotland*, because the Lord loved thy Fathers, and delighteth not in thy destruction, hath He after all our fearful

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fearful backsliding and sinful fainting and departing which testify against us neither left Himself nor us without a witness; but raised up amongst us His own faithful Servants and our brethren, with whom we are all equally and indissolubly engaged in the same righteous Cause and Covenant, & by the mighty power of His grace from the pure zeal of His Glory, enabled them first to venture and then to lay down their lives for the Testimony of His Work and Covenant, that we may yet at length consider and understand, that these were no more the labour and devices of carnal designs, than that corruption and weakness of flesh and blood could triumph both over it self and death and hell the chief of terrors. O! that men would therefore lay to heart their bonds and Engagements unto the Lord, repent of their backslidings and cease from their opposition to His Cause and Covenant; at least that such whom the Lord hath not abandoned unto that depth of Apostacy, whereunto others have made defection, would yet be wise and instructed, repent of their fainting and Neutrality in the cause of God, and their connivance or compliance with the declared enemies thereof, and beware of that wicked Declaration against the Covenant, or any other Oath and Subscription likely to be the snare and temptation of these times, which either under the pretext of Peace and Order, or of due Obedience unto lawful Authority, may be wickedly invented and imposed really for the suppressing of Truth, and advancing of this Rebellion against the most High God, and the establishing of this Antichristian Prelatick Tyranny. We have already fully detected the mask and design of such impostures; he who hath given Authority and Power unto Kings and Princes, and rendered the same Sacred by his holy Sanction and Command, as he hath often punished their Ingratitude and Usurpation against his own Sovereignty; so will he not hold that people guiltless, who, being both his Creatures and sworn Subjects, either connive at, or comply with such Rebellious Princes

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Princes in their wickedneis. Shall both the Law of God, and the very Propension of the heart and blood to the love and obedience of Parents, cede to the obedience of Kings and Rulers, for the good and preservation of the Commonwealth, and shall not far more all Alleageance and obedience to the same Kings and Rulers, cede and give place to our Obedience to the Most High our only Sovereign Lord, and the conscience of His holy Oath and Commandments, for advancement of his glory, the great and only end of all things? Fix it therefore in your hearts, first to love and fear the Lord our God, and then to honour and obey the King; and let the sincere and inward love of our Lord Jesus Christ, the dear esteem of his precious Gospel, and the remembrance of our most sacred and solemn Oaths and Covenants, and of that beauty, power and glory of His pure Ordinances, Ministry and Government which we once enjoyed, alwayes dwell in your hearts, and ever determine and establish you to resist and disown all wicked Usurpations against the Lord and His Anointed, all Invasions against His Crown and Prerogative, all Corruptions and Humane Inventions in His pure Worship and Ordinances, all perversion of the true Government and comely Order in His house, and all violations of these indispenfible and holy Engagements, whereby this whole Nation is perpetually joyned unto the Lord; and also ever animat you to Do or Suffer for the Lords great Name, and these precious and important concernments, as He requireth; lest if ye either faint in your mindes, or give up your selves to the delusion of some carnal distinction, quiding the sounder for the safer part, against the explicit Testimony, or implicit inclination of your own Consciences (which latter, if sincerely aiming at the glory of God, & in nothing repugnant to His holy Word, is no otherwise to be regarded in times of temptation, than as that promised secret leading of the blind in the way they know not) you not
only

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only lose your Crown, but provoke the Lord to cause all the Churches know by your plagues, that He it is who searcheth the reins and hearts.

But unto these few names in *Scotland* that have appeared zealous for God, and have not forgotten His Covenant in these declining times, and all these who favour their Righteous Cause; The Lord (who liveth and was dead, and is alive for evermore, *Amen*,) knoweth your works, tribulation and poverty (but you are rich) and also the blasphemy of them which say they are Christians and are not, but are the synagogue of Antichrist, Fear none of these things which you do or shall suffer, your afflictions are but for Triall, and may be Short: be Faithful unto the death, and ye shall have the Crown of life. And as ye love God and the Father of our Lord Jesus, who gave His only and eternall delight unto the death for us Sinners; as ye love our Lord Jesus Christ who loved us and washed us from our sins in His own blood; as ye love the Holy Spirit of Grace, who breatheth all this love into our hearts, and comforteth and sealeth us unto the day of redemption; as ye love the blessed Gospel, in the light whereof all this love is revealed, and God therein mainly glorified; as ye love the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood; as ye love (for your own souls and for your posterity) eternal life; as ye love poor *Scotland* and its deliverance from the dreadful and imminent wrath of God; and as you love the preservation of all Interests either Spiritual, Temporal or Eternal, Adhered fastly to the holy Covenant, that Sacred and Firm Bond and Engagement unto all duties of Religion and Righteousness, our blessed sealed Charter of all the Lord's blessings and ordinances, especially of that great Ordinance of the Ministry and Government of the Lord's house, which He himself hath appointed the hedge of all other Ordinances, and the great and most effectual mean of the Gospel's establishment and advancement. For, as

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it is only the holy zeal of God inspired and animated by the fervent love of our Lord Jesu, and the fear of the Lord's thoughts toward Scotland be thoughts of peace and not of evil, to give us an expected end (as we have great ground and perswasion of hope) it shall be upon the broken plank of this despised Covenant, that this tossed and shipwrackt Church shall be preserved, in midst of all these fluctuations, and at length attain to its desired haven of Peace and Truth. Yea though this Apostacy and persecution should prevail to wear out the saints of the most High, and the Lord (because of the overspreading of abomination) should determine and bring upon us utter desolation; yet shall this your faithfulness be your Peace, joy and Victory. Let all therefore that desire to be found faithful, look unto Jesus and his joy; that with Him enduring the cross and despising the shame, we may neither faint nor be weary, but in end be partakers of his Victory, Throne and Crown.

Thus we have seen and declared the great Work of God in this Land, from the first times of our Reformation unto this day; we have also seen our manifold provocations, whereby we have often Turned, Tempted and Provoked the most High; and all these judgements, Temptations and Discoveries, wherewith, by the space of now more than an Hundred years, he hath corrected and exercised us; and we are at length arrived unto, and have considered the present state and posture of our affairs: Wherein though 1. the extremity of Apostacy, exceeding all that any age can parallel, and aggregable by all the circumstances of most clear and glorious Manifestations, most solemn and sacred Engagements, most sudden and causeless backsliding, and most national daring and violent defection that any Church can be charged with. 2. The extremity of Persecution and Violence, which considering either the Actors; (once ring-leaders, now Apostats from the same Holy Covenant which they persecut) or the Manner,

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by Hostile and Military Force, without so much as regarding their own Lawes which they pretend for warrant; or the cruelty and excess, whereby mens lives are imbittered, making them preferre Death to the slaveries and insolencies which they sustain, Are not to be instanced in any Christian Church. 3. The extremity of Sin and prophanity, and of the enemies boasting and blasphemy, whose mouths are set against the Heavens, and all the spite of their tongues and indignation of their hearts, against the holy Covenant and tenderness of conscience, over which and all their followers, they wickedly insult and rejoyce. And 4. the extremity of mens fainting and deserting so Good a Cause; Which in their hearts they secretly own and approve, but dare not avow, yet are ready to deny for fear of the Adversaries; Though, we say these extremities (undeniably apparent in our present condition) do sadly denounce unto this Land, the worst and most woful of all extremities, even utter forsaking and desolation, and that the End is come; yet notwithstanding all these hopeles and desperate appearances, it is the Lord who causeth light to shine out of darkness, and saith, in the evening it shall be light, who saith unto dry bones, live, and calleth his People out of their graces, who even calleth things that are not as though they were, in whom all the seekers of His face ought to rejoyce, and joy in the God of their salvation. Therefore, although that over and above all these menacing evils, the power and pride of the Enemy should yet more prevail, even many degrees above all the appearances of Humane Hope or Help, and all Neighbouring Nations should not only give them the leisure and conveniency, but with all their might conspire and concurre with our enemies, to intend their persecution and strengthen their Apostacy; yet are the Lords Faithful, not only partakers of that River, the streams whereof make glad the City of God, though surrounded with the siege of Nations, Batteries of mountains, and insurrections of the Universe against it, and are

For the Kingdome of Christ. 241

built on that rock, against which the very gates of hell cannot prevail, and do also know that their God whom they fear is able to deliver them from this fiery Triall, and He will deliver them from their persecuters; and if not, that nothing save the designe of greater glory to his own Name, in a greater mercy and salvation to His People shall impede it: but all that love the Lord's Salvation have also fair ground of hope, that the Lord, as he will powr out His wrath upon his adversaries, so will He remember for *Scotland* his Covenant; awake and give a shout against His enemies; and that, now when He seeth their wrath, how they behave themselves strangely, and say our hand is high, and the Lord hath not done all this, the Lord will bring forth for His remnant (even that holy seed which shall be the substance of this Land) that Deliverance which is laid up in store with Him, and sealed up amongst His treasures. *For unto God belongeth vengeance and recompence*, even the vengeance of his broken Covenant, of His dear Saints blood, and of His polluted Sanctuary. *The adversaries foot shall slide in due time, for the day of their calamity is at hand, and the things that shall come upon them, make haste.* For the Lord shall judge his people and repent himself for his servants, when he seeth that our power is gone, and there is none shut up or left: And the Lord shall say, see now that I, even I am He, and there is no God with me: I kill and I make alive, I wound and I heal: neither is there any that can deliver out of my hand; for I lift up my hand to heaven, and say, I live for ever. If I whet my glittering sword, and mine hand take hold on judgement, I will render vengeance to mine enemies, and will reward them that hate me. I will make mine arrows drunk with blood (and my sword shall devour flesh) and that with the blood of the slain and the captives, from the beginning of revenges upon the enemy. Rejoyce, O ye Nations, with his people, for he will avenge the blood of His servants, and will render vengeance to His adversaries, and

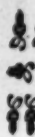
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will be mercifull unto His Land and to His People. This
is the Song which God hath taught us , and therewith
we shut up and seal the Faith and Patience of the
Saints.

ANd now , having finished the Narration intended
of the Work of God , and having seen and being
perswaded that all the degrees and Passages of its Pro-
gress and Advancement , were the very vestiges of the
Lords ascendent Power and Glory , which He hath
also sealed by the Salvation of many thousands for our
assured confirmation , that as this Work is of God , so
shall it not come to nought , But that these Antichristian
Prelats who oppose it , though in the same Spirit and
power of darkness , which hath mainly caused and
procured all the sin , temptation and ruine that hath
befallen any Gospel-Church , since the blessed coming
of our Lord Jesus in the flesh , they should arise unto
yea surmount the very height of the Papacy and Anti-
christ himself , in their Persecutions and Tyranny :
They shall nevertheless in the end , be found even to
fight against God , and perish for ever in their gain-
saying. As we do therefore desire to remain steadfastly
immoveable , and alwayes abounding in the Work of
the Lord , and every point and circumstance thereof
without fainting or wearying even unto the Death, in
over which the Lord hath caused His faithful witnesses to
gloriously to Triumph ; so we do only here subjoyn,
for the clear and unanswerable conviction and condem-
nation of the perfidy and wickedness of these accursed
Prelates , both before the World, and even in their own
consciences , if any sense thereof do yet remain : That
though we had never seen any of these great and glorious
things , whereby the Lord since the Year 1637. did
revive , confirm and magnify His Work amongst us,
and that the *National Covenant* had not been since retaken
much

much less explained and established, nor the *League and Covenant* ensued it; Yet since the same doth still stand in the plain and simple terms, wherein it was conceived, and in that sense and meaning, wherein both its express Words and all the circumstances, which we have before observed, do plainly evince that it was at first taken; as this Covenant doth remain unto this Day (notwithstanding all the *Prelates* wickedness, perjury and violence) unrepeal'd or condemned, and by no contrary explanation or gloss, either is or can be detorted, from being an undeniable abjuration of accursed Prelacy and all its corruptions; so is it a certain, fixed and immoveable foundation for all the Work of God that hath ensued, and a very sure ground of confidence to all who seriously perpend, and firmly adhere to it, that the Lord who loved us of old, and choosed our Fathers, shall yet again by his mighty Spirit and Power, turn the hearts of the Children unto the Fathers, and bring us back unto the Lord God of our Fathers, and upon this same Foundation, yet repair our breaches, build up the old wastes, and raise and rear up His Glory.

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The last
S P E E C H E S
AND
T E S T I M O N I E S
Of some who have Suffered for the
TRUTH in SCOTLAND
 Since the Year 1660.

The last speech of the
MARQUES of ARGILE,
 At his Death in Edinburgh,
 May 27. 1661.

MANY will expect that I speak many things,
 and according to their several opinions and
 dispositions, so will their expectations be
 from me, and constructions of me; But I
 resolve to disappoint many, for I come not
 hereto justify my self, but the Lord, *Who is His in*
 all

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all his wayes and Righteous in all his Works. holy and blessed is his Name ; Neither come I to condemn others : I know many will expect that I will speak against the hardness of the Sentence pronounced against me ; But I will say nothing to it. I bless the Lord , I pardon all men , as I desire to be pardoned of the Lord my self: Let the will of the Lord be done ; That is all that I desire.

I hope that ye will have more charity to me now, than ye would have had at an other time, seeing I speak before the Lord, to whom I must give an account very shortly. I know very well that my words have had but very little weight with many: And that many have mistaken my Words and Actions both: Many have thought me to be a great Enemy to these great works, that have of late been brought to pass. But do not mistake me, good People: I speak it in the presence of the Lord, I entered not upon the Work of Reformation, with any design of advantage to my self, or prejudice to the King and his Government; as my latter Will which was written 1638. And thereafter delivered to a Friend (in whose hands it still remaineth) can show. As for these Calumnies that have gone abroad of me, I bless God, I know them to be no more: And as I go to make a reckoning to God, I am free as to any of these, concerning the King, Person or Government. I was Real and Cordial in my desires to bring the King home, and in my Endeavours for Him when he was at home, and I had no correspondence with the Adversaries Army, nor any of them in the time when his Majesty was in Scotland; Nor had I any accellion to his late Majesties horrid and execrable Murther, by Councel or Knowledge of it, or any other manner of way. This is a Truth, as I shall answer to my Judge. And all the time his Majesty was in Scotland I was still endeavouring his advantage; my Conscience beareth me witness in it. So much to that Particular

Of the Marques of Argile. 247

And (*turning about he said*) I hope, Gentlemen, you will all remember these.

I confess, many look on my Condition as a *Suffering* condition: But I bless the Lord, that he that hath gone before me, hath trod the Winepress of the Fathers wrath; by whose Sufferings, I hope that my Sufferings shall not be Eternal. I bless Him that hath taken away the sting of my Sufferings: I may say that my Charter was Sealed to day; for the Lord hath said to me, Son, be of good cheer, thy Sins are freely forgiven thee: And so I hope my Sufferings shall be very easy. And ye know the Scripture saith, the Captain of our Salvation was made perfect by Sufferings.

I shall not speak much to these things for which I am condemned, lest I seem to condemn others: It is well known, it is only for *Compliance*, which was the Epidemical fault of the Nation. I wish the Lord to Pardon them: I say no more.

There was an expression in these Papers presented by me to the Parliament, of the *Contagion of these times*; Which may by some be misconstrued, as if I intended to lay an Imputation upon the Work of Reformation: But I declare that I intended no such thing; But only related to the corruptions and failings of men, occasioned by the Prevailing of the Usurping Powers, *At this returned and took them all witnesses.*

Now, Gentlemen, concerning the Nation, I think there are three sorts of People that take up much of the World and of this Nation. There is 1. The openly Prophane: And truly I may say, though I have been a prisoner, I have not had mine ears shut; I hear assuredly, that Drinking, Swearing, Whoring were never more Common, never more Countenanced than now they are. Truly if Magistrats were here, I would say to them, if they lay forth their power for glorifying of
Q 4 God,

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God, by restraining this, they should fare the better; if they continue in not restraining, they shall fare the worse. I say no more, but either let People shun Prophanity and Magistrats restrain it, or assuredly the wrath of God shall follow on it. 2. Others are not openly Prophane (every one will not allow that) but yet they are *Gallios* in the matter: If matters go well as to their Private Interest, they care not whether the Church of God sink or swim. But whatever they think, God hath laid Engagements upon *Scotland*: We are tyed by Covenants to Religion and Reformation: These that were than Unborn are yet engaged; and in our Baptisme we are engaged to it. And it passeth the power of all the Magistrats under heaven to absolve them from the Oath of God: They deceive themselves, and it may be would deceive others that think otherwise. But I would caveat this, People will be ready to think this a kind of instigation to Rebellion in me; But they are very far wrong that think *Religion* and *Loyalty* are not well consistent. Whoever they be that separate them, Religion is not to be blamed, but They. Its true, it is the duty of every Christian to be Loyal, yet I think the Orders of things are to be observed as well as their Natures; the Order of Religion as well as the Nature of it. Religion must not be the Cockboat, it must be the Ship. God must have what is his, as well as *Cæsar* what is his: And These are the best Subjects that are the best Christians. And that I am looked on as a Friend to Reformation, is my Glory.

3. There is another sort that are truly Godly: And to them I must say what I fear, and every one hath reason to fear (its good to fear evil) Its true the Lord may prevent it; but if he do not (and truly I cannot foresee any probability of it) Times are like either to be very *Sinning* or very *Suffering* Times: And let Christians make their choice: There is a sad *Dilemma* in the business,

ness, sin or suffer; and surely, he that would choose the Better part will choose to Suffer. Others that will choose to Sin, shall not escape Suffering; They shall Suffer, but it may be, not as I do (*turning about and pointing to the Maiden*) but worse: Mine is but Temporal, theirs shall be Eternal; when I shall be Singing, they shall be Howling. Beware therefore of Sin whatever you are aware of, especially in such times.

Yet I cannot say of my own Condition, but that the Lord in his Providence hath mind of Mercy to me; even in this World: For if I had been more favourably dealt with, I fear I might have been overcome with Temptations, as many others are, and many more I fear will be; and so should have gone out of the world, with a more polluted Conscience, than through the mercy of God now I have. And hence my Condition is such now, as when I am gone, will be seen not to have been such as many imagined. It is fit God take me away, before I fall into these Temptations that I see others are falling into, and many others I fear will fall: I wish the Lord may Prevent it. Yet blessed be his Name, that I am kept both from present evils and evils to come. *Here he turned about a little and spoke some words to Mr Hutchinson, when turning again to the People, he spoke as following.* Some may expect I will regrave my own condition: But truly I neither grudge nor repine, nor desire any revenge. And I declare I do not repent my last going up to London; for I had alwayes rather have Suffered any thing, then ly under Reproaches as I did. I desire not that the Lord should judge any man; nor do I judge any but my Self: I wish, as the Lord hath pardoned me, so he may pardon them for this and other things; and what they have done to me, may never meet them in their accounts. I have no more to say, but to beg the Lord, that when I go away, he would Bless every one that stayeth behind.

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His last Words, immediatly before he laid his Head on the Block after his doublet was off, were these. I desire you, Gentlemen, all thar hear me this day to take notice (and I wish that all who see me might hear me) that now when I am entering into Eternity, and am to appear before my Judge; and as I desire Salvation and do expect eternal Salvation and happiness from him, from my Birth to my Scaffold, I am free from any accession by my Knowledge, concerning Council or any other way to his late Ma. death? And I pray the Lord preserve his present Maj. and to powr his best blessings on his Person and Government; and the Lord give him good & faithful counsellors. *Turning about to his Friends, he said,* Many Christians may stumble at this, and my Friends may be discontented; But when things are rightly considered, my friends have no Discredit of Me, nor Christians no Stumbling block, rather an Engagement.

The last Speech and Testimony of Mr JAMES GUTHRIE,

Minister of the Gospel at Stirvelin, at his Death at Edinburgh, Jun. 1. 1661. which a day or two before his Death he wrot, and left with some of his Friends sealed and attested under his own hand.

MEN and Brethren, I fear many of you be come hither to gaze, rather than to be edified by the carriage and last words of a dying man: But if any have an ear

ear to hear, as I hope some of this great confluence have, I desire your audience to a few words. I am come hither to lay down this earthly Tabernacle and mortal flesh of mine; and I bless God, through his grace I do it willingly and not by constraint. I suffer willingly: If I had been so minded, I might have made a diversion, and not been a Prisoner? But being conscious to my Self of nothing worthy of Death or of Bonds, I would not stain my Innocency with the suspicion of guiltiness by my withdrawing: Neither have I wanted opportunities and advantages to escape since I was Prisoner, not by the fault of my keepers (God knoweth) but otherwise; But neither for this had I Light or Liberty; lest I should reflect upon the Lords Name, and offend the Generation of the Righteous: And if some men have not been mistaken, or dealt deceitfully in telling me so, I might have avoided not only the severity of the Sentence, but also had much favour and countenance, by complying with the courses of the time: But I durst not redeem my life with the loss of my Integrity; God knoweth I durst not; and that since I was Prisoner, He hath so holden me by the hand, that he never suffered me to bring it in debate in my inward thoughts, much less to propone or hearken to any overture of that kind. I did judge it better to Suffer than to Sin; And therefore I am come hither to lay down my life this day. And I bless God, I die not as a Fool; not that I have any thing wherein to glory in my self: I acknowledge that I am a Sinner, yea one of the greatest & vilest that have owned a profession of Religion, & one of the most unworthy that have Preached the Gospel, my corruptions have been strong and many, and have made me a sinner in all things, yea even in following my duty: And therefore Righteousness have I none of mine own, all is vile; but I do beleve that Jesus Christ came into the World to save sinners whereof I am Chief:
Through

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Through Faith in his Righteousness and Blood have I obtained Mercy; and through Him and Him alone, have I the hope of a blessed conquest and Victory over Sin, and Satan, and Hell, and Death, and that I shall attain unto the Resurrection of the Just; and be made partaker of Eternal Life. I know in whom I have believed, and that He is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day. I have Preached Salvation through His Name, and as I have preached so do I Believe, and do commend the Riches of His Free grace and Faith in His Name unto you all, at the only way whereby ye can be saved.

And as I bless the Lord that I die not as a fool; so also that I die not for *Evil doing*. Not a few of you may happily judge, that I suffer as a Thief, or as a Murderer, or as an evil Doer, or as a Busy body in other mens matters. It was the lot of the Lord Jesus Christ Himself, and hath been of many of His Precious Servants and People to suffer by the World as evil Doers: And as my soul scareth not at it, but desireth to reioice in being brought into Conformity with my Blessed Head, and so blessed a Company in this thing; so do I desire and Pray that I may be to none or you to day, upon this account a stone of stumbling and a rock of offence: Blessed is he that shall not be offended at Jesus Christ, and his poor servants and members, because of their being condemned as evil doers by the World. God is my record, that in these things, for which sentence of Death hath passed against me, I have a good Conscience: I bless God, they are not matters of Compliance with Sectaries, or Designs or Practices against His Majest. Person or Government, or the Person or Government of His Royal Father: My heart (I bless God) is conscious unto no Disloyalty; Nay, Loyal I have been, and I commend it unto you to be Loyal and obedient in the Lord. True Piety is the foundation of

True

True Loyalty: A wicked man may be a flatterer & a Time server, but he will never be a Loyal Subject. But to return to my purpose, the matters for which I am condemned, are matters belonging to my Calling and Function as a Minister of the Gospel, such as the Discovery and Reproving of Sin; The pressing the holding fast of the Oath of God in the Covenant, and preserving and carrying on the Work of Religion and Reformation according thereto; And denying to acknowledge the Civil Magistrat as the *Proper Competent Judge in causes Ecclesiastical*: That in all these things which (God so ordering by His gracious Providence) are the grounds of my Inditement and Death, I have a good Conscience, as having walked therein according to the Light and Rule of Gods Word, and as did become a Minister of the Gospel.

I do also bless the Lord, that I do not die as *one not desired*. It hath been my lot to have been a man of Contention and Sorrow: But it is my comfort, that for my own things I have not contended, but for the things of Jesus Christ, for what relateth to his Interest and Work, and the well being of his people. In order to the preserving and promoting of these, I did Protest against, and stood in Opposition unto these late Assemblies at *St Andrewes, Dundee and Edinburgh*, and the Publick Resolutions for bringing the Malignant Party into the Judicatories and Armies of this Kingdom, conceiving the same contrary to the Word of God, and to our Solemn Covenant, and Engagements; and to be an inlet to Defection, and to the Ruine and destruction of the Work of God. And it is now manifest to many consciences, that I have not been therein mistaken; nor was not fighting against a man of straw. I was also desirous and did use some poor Endeavours to have the Church of God purged of Insufficient and Scandalous and Corrupt Ministers and Elders; for these things I have been mistaken by some, and hated by others; But I bless the Lord, as I had the testimony of
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my own Conscience; so I was and am therein approved in the Consciences of many of the Lords precious Servants and People; and how little soever I may die Desired by some, yet by these I know I do die Desired, and their approbation, and prayers, and affection is of more value with me, than the Contradiction, or Reproach, or Hatred of many others; the love of the one I cannot Recompense, and the mistake, or hatred, or reproach of the other, I do with all my heart Forgive; and wherein I have offended any of them, do beg their mercy and forgiveness. I do from my soul wish that my death may be profitable unto both, that the one may be confirmed and established in the straight wayes of the Lord, and that the other (if the Lord so will) may be convinced, and cease from these things that are not good, and do not Edify but Destroy.

One thing I would warn you all of, that God is wroth, yea very wroth with *Scotland*, and threatneth to depart and remove His candlestick: The causes of his wrath are many, and would to God it were not one great cause, that Causes of Wrath are despised and rejected of men. Consider the case that is recorded *Ier. 36.* and the consequence of it, and tremble and fear. I cannot but also say, that there is a great addition and increase of wrath. 1. By that deluge of Prophanity that overfloweth all the Land, and hath reins loosed unto it every where, in so far that many have lost not only all use and exercise of Religion, but even of Morality, and that common Civility that is to be found amongst the Heathen. 2. By that horrible Treachery and Perjury that is in the matter of the Covenant, and Cause of God, and Work of Reformation: *Be astonished, O ye Heavens as this, and be horribly afraid, be ye very desolate, saith the Lord; for my People have committed two evils, they have forsaken me the fountain of living waters, and hewed them out cisterns, broken cisterns that can hold no water: shall he break the Cove-*

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nant, and prosper? Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with God, which frameth mischief by a Law? I fear the Lord be about to bring a *Sword* on these Lands, which shall avenge the quarrel of his Covenant. 3. Horrible Ingratitude: The Lord after 10. years oppression and bondage hath broken the yoke of Strangers from off our necks; but what do we render unto Him for this goodness? Most of the fruit of our delivery is to work wickedness, and to strengthen our Selves to do evil. 4. A most dreadful Idolatry, and sacrificing to the Creature: We have changed the glory of the Incorruptible God, into the image of a corruptible Man, in whom many have placed almost all their Salvation and desire, and have turned that which might have been a Blessing unto us (being kept in a due line of Subordination under God) into an Idol of Jealousy, by preferring it before him. God is also wroth with a generation of Carnal, Corrupt, Time serving Ministers: I know and bear testimony that in the Church of *Scotland*, there is a True and Faithful Ministry: Blessed be God, we have yet many who study their duty, and desire to be found faithful to their Lord & Master; And I pray you to Honour, and Reverence, and Esteem much of these for their Works sake: And I pray them to be encouraged in their Lord and Master, who is with them to make them as iron pillars, and brazen walls, and as a strong defended city in the faithful following of their duty: But oh! that there were not too many who mind Earthly things, & are enemies to the cross of Jesus Christ, who push with the side and shoulder, who strengthen the hands of evil doers, who make themselves transgressors, by studying to build again what they did formerly warransably destroy, I mean *Prelacy*, and the *Ceremonies*, and the *Service book*, a Mystery of iniquity that works amongst us, whose steps lead unto the house of the great Whore. *Babylon*, the Mother of fornications: Or whosoever else

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else he be that buildeth this *Jericho* again, let him take heed of the curse of *Hiel the Bethelite*, and of that flying roll threatned *Zech. 5*. And let all Ministers take heed that they Watch, and be Stedfast in the Faith, and quicke themselves like men, and be strong; and give faithful and seasonable Warning concerning Sin and Duty. Many of the Lords People do sadly complain of the fainting and silence of many Watchmen; And it concerneth them to consider what God calleth for at their hands in such a day: Silence now in a Watchman, when he is so much called to speak, and give his Testimony upon the Peril of his life is doubtless a great Sin. The Lord open the mouths of His Servants to speak his word with all boldness; that Covenant breaking may be discovered and reprov'd, and that the Kingdom of Jesus Christ may not be supplanted, nor the souls of His People destroyed without a witness. I have but a few words more to adde: All that are Prophane amongst you, let me exhort them to Repentance. for the day of the Lords vengeance hasteneth and is near: But there is yet a door of mercy open for you, if ye will not despise the day of salvation. All that are Maligners, and Reproachers, and Persecuters of Godliness, and of such as live godly, take heed what ye do, it will be hard for you to kick against the Pricks; You make your selves the butt of the Lords fury, and his flaming indignation, if ye do not cease from, & repent of all your ungodly deeds. All that are Neutral, and indifferent, and Lukewarm Professors, be zealous and repent; lest the Lord spew you out of his mouth. You that lament after the Lord, and mourn for all the abominations that are done in this City, and in the Land, and take pleasure in the stones and dust of *Zion*, cast not away your confidence, but be comforted and encouraged in the Lord. He will yet appear to your joy, God hath not cast away his People, nor work in *Brittain* and *Ireland*: I hope it shall come to pass

more Revive by the Power of His Spirit, and take root downward and bear fruit upward. There is yet a Holy Seed and precious Remnant, whom God will preserve and bring forth : but how Long or Dark our Night may be, I do not know ; the Lord shorten it for the sake of his Chosen. In the mean while, be ye patient and stedfast, immoveable, alwayes abounding in the work of the Lord, and in love one to another : Beware of Snares which are strawed thick : Cleave to the Covenant and Work of Reformation : Do not decline the Cross of Jesus Christ ; choose rather to suffer Affliction with the People of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season ; and account the Reproach of Christ greater riches than all the Treasure of the World. Let my Death grieve none of you, it will be more profitable and advantageous both for me, and for you, and for the Church of God, and for Christs interest and honour, I than my life could have been. I forgive all men the guilt of it, and I desire you to do so also : Pray for them that persecute you, and bless them that curse you, bless I say, and curse not. I die in the Faith of the Apostles, and Primitive Christians, and Protestant Reformed Churches, particularly of the Church of *Scotland*, whereof I am a member and Minister. I bear my witness and Testimony to the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government of the Church of *Scotland*, by Kirk-sessions, Presbyteries, Synods and Generall Assemblies : I profess Popery and Prelacy, and all the trumpery of Service and Ceremonies that wait upon them, I do abhorre. I do bear my witness unto the National Covenant of *Scotland*, and Solemn League and Covenant betwixt the three Kingdoms of *Scotland*, *England* and *Ireland* : These but sacred, Solemn, Publick Oaths of God, I believe can will ye loosd nor dispensed with, by no Person, or Party, Power upon earth : but are still binding upon these Kingdoms, and will be for ever hereafter ; and are rati-

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fied and sealed by the conversion of many thousand souls; since our entering thereinto. I bear my witness to the Protestation against the controverted Assemblies and the Publick Resolutions; to the Testimonies given against the Sectaries; against the course of Backsliding and Defection that is now on foot in the Land, and all the branches and parts thereof, under whatsoever name or notion, or acted by whatsoever party or person. And in the last place, I bear my witness to the cross of Jesus Christ; and that I never had cause, nor have cause this day, to repent because of any thing I have suffered, or can now suffer for His Name: I take God to record upon my soul, I would not exchange this scaffold, with the Palace or Mitre of the greatest prelate in Brittain. Blessed be God, who hath shewed mercy to such a wretch, and hath revealed His Son in me, and made me a Minister of the Everlasting Gospel, and that He hath daigned in the midst of much contradiction from Sathan and the the World, to seal my Ministry upon the hearts of not a few of His People, and especially in the station wherein I was last, I mean the Congregation, and Presbytery of *Starlin*. God forgive the poor empty Man, that did there intrude upon my labours, and hath made a prey of many poor souls, and exposed others to reproach, and oppression, and a famine of the Word of the Lord. God forgive the misleaders of that part of the poor people, who tempted them to reject their own Pastor, and to admit of Intruders; and the Father of mercies pity that poor Misled people: And the Lord visit the Congregation and Presbytery of *Starlin* once more with faithful Pastors; and grant that the Work and People of God may be revived thorow all *Brittain*, and over all the World. Jesus Christ is my Light, and my Life, my Righteousness, my Strength and my Salvation: He is all my Salvation, and all my Desire. Him, O Heavens, I do with all the strength of my soul commend unto you. Bless

Blessed are they that are not offended in Him : Blessed are they that Trust in Him. Bless Him, O my soul, from hence forth even for ever. Rejoice, rejoice all ye that love Him ; be patient and rejoice in tribulation : Blessed are you, and blessed shall you be for ever and ever. Everlasting Righteousness and Eternal Salvation is yours : All are yours, and ye are Christs, and Christ is Gods. Remember me O Lord with the favour thou bearest to thy People, O visit me with thy Salvation, that I may see the good of thy chosen, that I may rejoice in the gladness of thy Nation, that I may glory with thy Inheritance. *Now let thy servant depart in peace since mine eyes have seen thy salvation.*

Ja. Guthrie

The last Speech and Testimony of the

L O R D W A R I S T O N,

At His Death in *Edinburgh,*

July 22. 1663.

*Right Honourable, much Honoured,
and beloved Auditors and Spectators.*

THat which I intended and prepared to have spoken at this time and in this condition, immediately before my death (if it should be so ordered that it should be my lot) is not at present in my power, having been taken from me : But I hope the Lord shall preserve it to bear my Testimony more fully and clearly, than now I can in this condition, having my Memory much destroyed, through much sore and long Sicknes, Melancholy, and excessive drawing of my Blood. Though I bless the Lord

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my God, that notwithstanding of the forementioned distempers, I am in some capacity to leave this short and weak Testimony.

I desire in the *first* place to confess my Sins, so far as is proper to this Place and Case, and to acknowledge Gods Mercies; and to express my Repentance of the one, and my Faith of the other, through the merits of the Lord Jesus Christ our gracious Redeemer and Mediator: I confess that my Natural Temper (or rather distemper) hath been Hasty and Passionat, and that in my Manner of going about and prosecuting of the best pieces of work and service to the Lord and to my Generation, I have been subject to my excesses of Heat, and hereby to some Precipitations, which hath no doubt offended standers by and lookers on, and hath exposed both Me and the Work to their mistakes, whereby the beauty of that Work hath been obscured: Neither have I in following of the Lord's work, His Good Work, been without my own Self-seeking; which hath severall wayes vented it self to the offence of both God and Man, and to the grief thereafter of my own Conscience, and which hath often made me groan, and cry out with the Apostle, *O miserable man that I am, who shall deliver me from this body of death?* And to ly low in the dust mourning and lamenting over the same, deprecating God's wrath, and begging His tender Mercies to Pardon, & His powerful Grace to cure all these evils. I must with all confess, that it doth not a little trouble me, and ly heavy upon my spirit, and will bring me down with sorrow to the grave (though I was not alone in this Offence, but had the body of the Nation going before me, and the Example of persons of all Ranks to inſpire me) that I suffered my self through the power of temptations and the too much fear anent the straits that my numerous Family might be brought into, to be carried unto so great a length of Compliance in England with

with the late Usurpers, which did much grieve the hearts of the Godly, and made these that sought God ashamed and confounded for my sake, and did give no small occasion to the Adversary to reproach and blaspheme, and did withall not a little obscure & darken the beauty of severall former Actings about His blessed and glorious Work of Reformation, happily begun and far advanced in these Lands, wherein He was graciously pleased to Employ, and by Employing to Honour me to be an Instrument (though the least and unworthiest of many) whereof I am not ashamed this day, but account it my Glory, however that Work be now cried down, opposed, laid in the dust and trod upon: And my turning aside to comply with these men, was the more aggravated in my person, that I had so frequently and seriously made profession of my Aversness from, and Abhorrence of that way, and had shown much Dissatisfaction with these that had not gone so great a length; for which as I seek God's mercy in Christ Jesus, so I desire that all the Lord's People, from my example may be more stirred up to watch and pray, that they enter not into temptation.

2. I do not deny on the other hand, but must Testify in the *second* place, to the Glory of his Free-grace, that the Lord my God hath often shewed and engraven upon my Conscience, the Testimony of His Reconciling and Reconciled Mercy through the Merits of Jesus Christ, pardoning all my iniquities, and assuring me that He would deliver me also by the graces of His Holy Spirit, from the spait, tyranny and dominion thereof; And hath often drawn out my spirit to the exercise of Repentance and Faith, and after engraven upon my heart in legible characters His merciful pardon, and gracious begun cure thereof to be perfected thereafter, to the Glory of His Name, the Salvation of my Soul, and glorification of his Church.

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3. I am pressed in conscience to leave here at my death, my true and honest Testimony in the sight of God and Man, to and for *the National Covenant : the Solemn League and Covenant , the Solemn Acknowledgements of our Sins , and Engagement to our duties ; to all the grounds and Causes of Fasts and humiliations , & of the Lords displeasure and contending with the Land. And to the several Testimonies given to His Interests, by General Assemblies , Commissions of the Kirk , Presbyteries , and by other honest and faithful Ministers and Professors.*

4. I am pressed also to encourage His Doing , Suffering , Witnessing People , and Sympathizing ones with these that suffer , that they would continue in the duties of Mourning , Praying , Witnessing and Sympathizing with these that suffer ; and humbly to assure them in the Name of the Lord our God , the God of His own Word and Work , of His own Cause , Covenant and People that He will be Seen, Found and Felt (in His own gracious Way and Time , by His own Means and Instruments, for His own Glory and Honour) to return to His own Truths and Interests and Servants , and revive His Name, His Covenant, His Word, His Work , His Sanctuary and His Saints in these Nations, even in the three Covenanted Nations , which were so by so Solemn Bonds, Covenants, Subscriptions and Oaths, given away and devoted unto Himself.

5. I exhort all these that have been , or are Enemies or unfriends to the Lord's Name , Covenant or Cause, Word, Work or People, in *Brittain and Ireland , to Repent and Amend , before these sad judgements that are pressing fast, come upon them , for their sinning so highly against the Lord, because of any temptation of the Time on the right or left hand, by Baits or Straits whatsoever, and that after so many Professions and Engagements to the contrary.*

6. I dare not conceal from you that are Friendly to all the Lord's Interests, that the Lord (to the commendation of His Grace, be it humbly spoken) hath severall times, in the exercise of my Repentance and Faith during my trouble, and after groans and tears upon these three notable chapters, to wit, the 9 of *Ezra*, the 9 of *Nehemiah*, and the 9 of *Daniel*, with other such futable Scriptures, and in the very nick of fervent and humble Supplication to Him, for the Reviving again His Name, Cause, Covenant, Word, and Work of Reformation in these Covenanted Nations, and particularly in poor Scotland, which first solemnly engaged to Him, to the good Example and Encouragement of His People in the other two Nations to do the same also, That the Lord, I say, hath several times given to me good ground of hope and lively expectations of His Mercifull, Gracious, Powerful and Wonderful Renewing and Reviving of His fore mentioned great Interests in these Covenanted Nations: And that in such a Way, by such Means and Instruments, with such Antecedents, Concurrents, Consequents, and Effects, as shall wonderfully rejoyce His Mourning Friends, and astonish His Contradicting and counter-acting Enemies.

7. I do earnestly recommend my poor Wife and Children and their posterity, to the choicest Blessings of God, and to the Prayers and Favour of all the Lord's children and Servants, in their earnest dealing with God & Men in their behalf, That they may not beruined for my Cause, but for the Lord my God's sake, they may be favoured, assisted, supplied & comforted, & also maybe fitted by the Lord for His Fellowship & Service; whom God Himself hath moved me often, in their own Presence, & with their own Consent, to dedicate, devote & resign alike and as well, as I devote and resign my own Soul and Body to Him for all Time and Eternity.

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8. I beg the Lord to open the eyes of all the Instruments of my Trouble, that are not deadly Irreconcilable Enemies to Himself and His People, that they may see the wrong done by them to His Interests and People, and to Me and Mine, and may repent thereof and return to the Lord, and may more cordially own and adhere to all His interests in time coming: The good Lord give unto them Repentance, Remission and Amendment; and that is the wish I wish them, and the best wish I can wish unto them.

9. I do earnestly beg the fervent prayers of all His Praying People, Servants and Instruments, whether absent or present, wherever they be in behalf of His Name, Cause and Covenant, Work and People; and in behalf of my Wife, Children and their Posterity: And that the Lord would glorify Himself, edify His Church, encourage His Saints, further His Work, accomplish His good Word, by all His Doings and Dealings, in Substance and Circumstance toward His own.

10. Whereas I have heard that some of my unfriends have slandered and defamed my Name, as if I had been accessory to his late Majestie's death, and to the making of the Change of Government thereupon; the great God of Heaven be witness and Judge between Me and my Accusers in this; for I am free (as I shall now answer before his Tribunal) from any Accession by Counsel or Contrivance, or any other way to his late Majestie's death, or to their making that change of Government: And I pray the Lord to preserve our present King his Majesty, and to pour out His best blessings upon his Royal Posterity, and to give unto them good and faithfull Counsellors, holy and wise Counsels and prosperous successes, to God's Glory and to the good and interest of His people, and to their own Honour and Happiness.

11. I do here now submit and commit my Soul and Body, Wife and Children and Childrens Children from generation to generation for ever, with all others his Friends and Followers, all His Doing and Suffering, Witnesing and Sympathizing ones, in the present and subsequent Generations, unto the Lords choice Mercies, Graces, Favours, Services, Employments, Improvements and Inheritments, on Earth and in Heaven, in Time and Eternity. All which suits with all others, which He hath at any time by His Spirit moved and assisted me to make and put up, according to His will, I leave before and upon the Fathers Merciful Bowels, and the Sons Meditating Merits, and the Holy Spirits Compassionate Groans, for now and evermore.
Amen.

The Joint Testimony of these who
died together in Edinburgh, Dec. 7. 1666.
subscribed by them in prison, the
same day of their death.

Men and Brethren.

THIS is a great and important work, both for us who are now to render up our spirits to Him that gave them; And for you who are not a little concerned in the Cause; and in our blood by justifying or condemning our sentence: And therefore, as we speak to you as Dying men, who dare not dissemble with God or man, nor flatter our selves; So ye should not be idle, curious, or unconcerned Spectators.

We are condemned by men, and esteemed by many as Rebel against the King (whose Authority we acknowledge.

knowledge) But this is our rejoicing, the testimony of our conscience, that we suffer not as Evil doers, but for Righteousness, for the Word of God, and Testimony of Jesus Christ; And particularly for our renewing the Covenant, and in pursuance whereof, for Preserving and Defending of our selves by Armes, against the Usurpation and insupportable Tyranny of the Prelats; And against the most unchristian and inhuman Oppression and Persecution, that ever was enjoyned and practised by just Rulers, upon Free, Innocent and Peaceable Subjects.

The Covenant and Cause being so just in themselves, and the duties of Self-preservation and mutual Defence in maintenance thereof, being to Judicious and unbiassed men so clear, we need to say the less for vindication of our Practice: Only, the Lawes establishing Prelacy, and the Acts, Orders and Proclamations made for Compliance therewith, being executed against us by Military Force and Violence; And we with others, for our simple Forbearance, being Fined, Confined, Imprisoned, Exiled, Scourged, Stigmatized, Beaten, Bound as beasts, and Driven unto the mountains for our lives; And thereby hundreds of Families being beggared, several Parishes and some whole Country-sides exceedingly impoverished; And all this, either Arbitrarily and without any Law, or respect had to guilt or innocency; Or Unjustly contrary to all Conscience, Justice and Reason, though under the Pretence of iniquous Laws; and without regard had to the penalty specified in the Law: And all Remonstrating of Grievances (were they never so just and many) and Petitions for Redress, being restrained by Laws condemning all former Remonstrances and Petitions in the like cases; There was no other remedy left to us, but that last of necessary Self-preservation and Defence. And this being one of the greatest Principles of Nature, warranted by the Law of God, Scriptural In-

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stances, and the consent and Practices of all Reformed Churches and Christian States abroad, and of our own famous Predecessors at home, It cannot in reason or Justice, be reputed a Crime, nor condemned as Rebellion by any humane Authority.

Though we be not the first that have suffered for the Cause of God within the Land, yet we are among the first that have been Legally condemned and put to Death Expressly for taking the Covenant: And we are so far from being ashamed thereof, that we account it our honour to be reckoned worthy to suffer for such a Cause; And cannot but bless the Lord, that we have such a cloud of Witneses, in this and other Reformed Churches, going before us in the same duty for Substance, and in Suffering therefore.

We cannot but regret (if we could with tears of blood) the Nationall and Authorized Backsliding of the Land, by Perjury and breach of Covenant; The overturning of the Work of Reformation; The great Desolation of the House of the Lord, by smiting of the Shepherds and scattering of the Flocks; The Intrusion of so many mercenary Hirelings into the Ministry, who because of Apostacy, Perjury, Ignorance and Prophanness, can neither be acknowledged as God's mouth to the People in Preaching, nor employed as their mouth to Him in Prayer; The abounding of Popery, Superstition, and Prophanness by unheard of Oaths, Blasphemies, Uncleaness and Drinking, even in some whose Office and Place requireth them to be more Exemplary; And the shedding of the Blood of the Saints by the rage of Persecution: And therefore we cannot but disown all these abominable Laws, Courses and Practices, and declare our abhorrence of the same, and dissent therefrom; Protesting before Angels and Men, that we be not interpreted as consenters thereto, and beseeching the Hearer of prayer, that we be not involved in the guilt thereof, nor partake of the plagues which follow thereupon.

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As this Land was happy above all Nations , for the purity and plenty of the Gospel, and for a Form of Church Government more conform to the Patern in the Scriptures , than in others of the Reformed Churches; So we acknowledge His great goodness to us in speciall, that gave us our lines in such pleasant places : For we have such full perswasion of the truth of the Reformed Religion in the Church of Scotland, And have felt so much of the Power and Sweetness thereof, that we do here declare our firm belief and perswasion of, and adherence to the same, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government, according to the *Nationall Covenant, the Solemn League and Covenant, the Confession of Faith, Catechisms, Directory of worship, and Propositions for Government*; Accounting it our honour and happiness to have been born in it, to have lived in Communion with it, and now to die (through Grace) Members, Witnesses and Asserters thereof.

And further as Christians and as Members of the same Church and Commonwealth, in the fear and zeal of our God, in Love to our Brethren, in desire of the Preservation of Church and Kingdom, and for own Exoneration, now when we take our leave of the World, We do seriously and in the bowels of Christ, Supplicate, Warn, Exhort and Obtest you all the Inhabitants of the Kingdom, from the King to the meanest of the Subjects, according to your old Principles, Professions, Promises, Declarations, Oaths and Covenants, faithfully to Own, Maintain, preserve and Defend the said Religion; And after the example of our Noble and Renowned Ancestors to quit your selves like Men and Christians, in endeavouring by all just Means, according to your Places and Powers, to shake off this heavy yoke of Prelacy, which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear, and which is destructive to all our true Interests, Religious and Civil; As ye would not involve your selves in the guilt

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and plagues of Perjury and Breach of Covenant; And as you tender the good of your own Names, Persons, Estates, Families and Liberties, as well as of your immortal Souls; And as we would partake of the good of God's chosen, and of our joyes, when ye come so near Eternity as we are.

We shall say no more, but as we were not afraid to risk our lives in our hands, so we are not afraid to lay them down in this Cause; And as we are not ashamed of Christ because of his Cross, so we would not have you offended in Christ nor discouraged because of us: For we bear you record, that we would not exchange lots with our Adversaries; nor redeem our Lives, Liberties and Fortunes, at the price of Perjury and breach of Covenant.

And further we are assured, though this be the day of Jacob's trouble, that yet the Lord, when He hath accomplished the Triall of His own, and filled up the cup of his Adversaries, He will awake for judgement, plead His own Cause, avenge the quarrel of his Covenant, make inquiry for blood, vindicate His People, break the arm of the wicked, and establish the just; For to Him belongeth judgement and vengeance: And though our eyes shall not see it, yet we believe that the Sun of Righteousness shall arise with healing under His wings; and that He will revive His Work, repair the breaches, build the old wastes and raise up the desolations; Yea the Lord will judge His people, and repent Himself for His servants, when their power is gone, and there is none shut up or left: And therefore, Rejoyce, O ye Nations, with His People: For He will avenge the blood of His servants, and will render vengeance to His adversaries, and He will be merciful to His Land and People. So let thy Enemies perish O Lord; but let them that love Him, be as the Sun when He goeth forth in His might.

Sic subscribitur.

John McCulloch of Barholm.

And. Arnot.

John Gordon of Knockbrex.

Robert Gordon his Brother.

John Ross.

John Shiels.

James Hamilton,

John Parker in Bosby,

Christopher Strang.

Gavin Hamilton.

Another Testimony which was also left by such of the Former ten Persons, as were in the same Chamber with *Thomas Paterson* Merchant in *Glasgow*; who, being in like manner indicted but dying of his Wounds before Sentence, did communicate the same to his friends, with his Assent thereunto.

MEN and Brethren, being condemned by our Rulers as Traitors, lest we should seem to many to suffer as evill doers, In the first place, we bless and praise the Lord our God, who hath made us (the unworthiest of all men) Worthy to be faithfull to Him, who is King of Kings and Lord of Lords, and in Simplicity and godly Sincerity, singly to mind his glory; and who also maketh the cross of Christ (though by men superscribed with Treason) our sweet consolation, and his own joy and strength.

2. We declare in the presence of the same God, before whom we are now ready to appear, that we did not intend to Rebell against the King and his just Authority, Whom as we acknowledge for our Lawful

Sovereign; so we earnestly pray in his behalf, that God would open his eyes and Convert his heart, that he may remember his Vowes made unto God, relieve this oppressed Kirk, and long reign and flourish in righteousness.

3. We declare, that perceiving the Holy Covenants of our God broken, the Work of the Lord overturned, the Gospel and Kingdome of Jesus Christ despised and trampled upon, his pure Ordinances corrupted, his faithful and our soul refreshing Ministers cast out, and the Land filled with Perjury and Prophanity, and like to be hurried back to that gulf of Ignorance, Superstition and Confusion, whence the Lord did so gloriously deliver us; And finding our selves not only Spoiled of our most precious blessings, and most dear enjoyments, but urged and compelled by cruel Violence and Barbarous Persecution to wicked Apostacy from our Holy Covenants, and to Rebellion against our God; And all this done by no other hand than the wicked and perjured Prelats; And for no other ends (whatever they may pretend) than the satisfying of their own vile lusts, and establishing their so often abused Antichristian Tyranny, over both Souls and Bodies of Men; And lastly finding former Petitions condemned as Seditious, and our private complaints (when but muttered) insolently rejected; We did in the fear and Zeal of our God, and by the warrant of his Holy Word, according to the first and most Innocent instinct of pure Nature, and the Practice of all People and Persons in the like case; And after the Example of all the oppressed Kirks of Jesus Christ, and of our Noble Ancestors, take the Sword of Necessary Self-defence, from the rage and fury of these wicked and violent Men, until we might make our heavy Grievances known to his Majesty, and obtain from his justice a satisfying remedy.

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We will not now mention our particular Sufferings, nor the sighs and groans of poor wasted *Galloway* which though very heavy from the hand of man, are all too light for Jesus Christ; Nor are we willing to reflect upon these grievous and bitter Lawes and Edicts, by which they seem too be warranted: Only we know that God is Righteous, whose Lawes and judgments are Superior and aboveall the Lawes and Actions of men. And to him who will judge righteously, We intirly Commit our cause, which is none other, than the Reviving of the word of God and Renewing of his Covenant: Which though it pleased the holy and wise God, not to favour with Success, in the field, and though by men it be made our Condemnation, yet it is our Righteousness Innocency and Confidence in his sight. And all praise and thanks be unto our God, who not only kept us steadfast in his Covenant, and made us Willing and Ready to adventure our Lives for his Name; but hath also accepted and dignified our offer, with this publick Appearance: Where, in his own glorious presence before whom we shall instantly appear, and before our often Sworn and once Zealous and tender Brethren in the same Cause, and in midst of Thee O *Edinburgh*, once famous for the Glory and Zeal of God and of this Covenant, we may give and Seal this our Testimony with our blood.

We therefore the unworthiest of all the Faithful, do in the Spirit of God and Glory, Testify & with our blood and lives, that both the *National Covenant* and *Solemn League and Covenant* are in Themselves holy, Just, and True, and perpetually Binding, containing no other thing, than our Indispensable Obligations to all Duties of Religion and Righteousness, according to the revealed Will of God, which no Authority nor Power of Man, is or ever shall be able to disannul; And that our blessed Reformations both from Popery and Prela-

ey, and all that was done or ensued, in the sincere and upright prosecution thereof, was and ~~is~~ the Work of God, which though Men fight against, yet shall they never be able to prevail: And as this is our Faith, so it is our hope to all that wait for the Salvation of God, that Our God will surely appear for his own Glory, and vindicate his Cause and persecuted People, and render vengeance to his Adversaries, even the vengeance of his holy Temple and broken Covenant. O be not then moved with our Sufferings which are but Light and Momentary, for they Work for us a far more, exceeding and Eternal weight of Glory, and for you also a strong Confirmation, and abounding Consolation against the like trial that possibly may befall you. O then save your selves from this Wicked and Apostate Generation, and be ye steadfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the Work and Cause of the Lord; waiting for the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ; which in his time he shall shew, who only hath Immortality, dwelling in the Light which no man can approach, whom no man hath seen, or can see, to whom be honour and Power everlasting. AMEN.

The Testimony of

CAPT. ANDREW ARNOT,

one of the former ten who died.

Decem. 7.

DEar Friends and Spectators, I am brought by the good providence of God to this publick place of execution (which is no dishonour) for points of treason,

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son, as is alleadged; but God knoweth. (who knoweth the secrets of hearts) whether in Rebellion or not, I came forth: He is my witness and will be my Judge. And whoever they be that any way have been instrumental, or incensed against me to procure this Sentence against me, God forgive them, and I forgive them. I am not now purposed to disput the matter of my being in company with these worthy Christians, who are now defeat and broken, their blood shed, and they despitfully mocked by many: I acknowledge and declare that I was with them. As to the cause of my being with them, whether in Rebellion or not, God knoweth, and all *Israel* shall know. And for me, I say the Cause is the Lords, who made the Heaven and the Earth, though now it be hated. And I desire to bear witness (with the rest of the worthy witnesses, who are gone before, and are now staged) to that glorious Work of Reformation in *Britain* and *Ireland*, and to Gospel Ordinances in their Purity, as they have been taught and administered these 30. Years last by past, and I adhere to the Presbyterial way of Doctrine, worship, Discipline & Government, by General Assemblies, Synods, Presbyteries, and Sessions, according to the Patern of the holy Scriptures (Jesus Christ himself being the head Cornerstone) the Confession of faith, Catechismes Shorter and Larger, Directory for Worship, National Covenant, Solemne League and Covenant, and every Paper tending to the good of the true Religion. And thus I think fit to Testify and Declare under my hand (not knowing if I shall have any Liberty to speak,) & intend God willing, to Seal with my Blood shortly. I confess that unexpectedly I am come to this place, (though some times I have had some small thoughts of it) And I do account my self highly honoured to be reckoned amongst the witnesses of Jesus Christ, to suffer for his Name, Truth and Cause, and this day I esteem it my

Glory,

Glory, Garland, crown and royal dignity to fill up a part of his sufferings. And now I take my leave of you all my dear and worthy Friends and acquaintances. The blessings of the Eternal God be multiplied upon you and your seed, and upon all the suffering Friends of Christ this day; upon my dear and loving Wife, who hath been a faithful sympathizer with me, and upon my dear Children. The work of God is now at under, but Christ shall carry the Day: Blessed is he that believeth and seeth not, for there shall be a performance. Now the Eternal God, who brought again the Lord Jesus Christ from the dead, the great shepherd of the flock, strengthen & establish you and all the Lords people. So pray ye, and so prayeth your Friend.

ANDREW ARNOT,

**The Testimony of
JOHN SHIELDS**

**Yeoman, one of the former ten, who
died at Edinburgh the 7. day of
Decemb. 1666**

I Am a man unlearned and not accustomed to speak in publick; yet being now called to witness and suffer for the Lord in publick, I cannot be altogether silent of that which Religion & Reason hath taught me, anent the cause of my suffering.

I bless the Lord, I suffer not as an evil doer, especially not for any Rebellion against his Majesties lawful Authority; I attest him who is the searcher of hearts, that was never my intention in the least, and it is as little the nature and intention of what I have done; But for renewing of the Covenant with the Lord, and following the ends thereof, as to the suppressing of abjured

Prelats, and intruders upon the Lords flock, and the restoring of the Government of the House of God by Presbyteries, as he himself hath appointed in his Word, with a faithful, Godly, called, and Sent Ministry; And together with pure Ordinances, the Power of Godliness. For this I am condemned, and to suffer this day. This I acknowledged freely before our Judges; This I still acknowledge, and am perswaded that herein I witness a faithful Confession. This Cause and Covenant I commend to all the Lords People. It is not free for you to forsake it; You are inviolably ingaged in it; It is not safe to desert it, because of the Curse of the perjurer and false swearer. There is unspeakable blessedness in the persuance of it, whereof I can bear witness to the Lord by my rich Experience, since we began to Do and Suffer at this time for him: Whereupon I cheerfully lay down my Life for this his Cause; He it is who Justifieth it, what man or Authority under heaven can condemn it? *Arise O Lord, let not man prevail against Thee; plead and Iudge this Cause which is thine own, for thine own names sake.*

The Testimony of another of the former ten Persons left subscribed with a Friend.

I designed no Rebellion against lawful Authority, but the suppressing of Prelacy and of Prophanity; and advancing of Holiness in Gods World: In a Word, I adhere to all the Articles of the good Covenant, and did intend the restoring of our good and Soul refreshing Ministers, and the casting out of the dumb greedy Dogs that cannot bark. In this Cause I was a free volunteer pressed by none, thinking it my duty to appear for help-

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ing the Lord against the Mighty. This I testify under my hand from the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, the 6 of December, 1666.

The Testimony of
Mr ALEXANDER ROBERTSON,
Preacher of the Gospel, and Probationer for
the Ministry, who died at *Edinburgh*,
Decemb. 14. 1666.

FEaring that after the example of others, I should not be permitted to speak openly to the People, I thought fit (beside my adherence to what my brethren, who have gone before me, left behind them concerning our Common Cause) to leave a word in writ, for satisfaction of them who survive me.

That, for preservation and defence of the true Religion of this Church, and for the relief of my poor brethren afflicted and persecuted therefore, I joyned with others in Armes, and that I renewed the Covenant; that all men might the better know my Cause and Principles, I am so far from denying or being ashamed of, that I both acknowledge and avow this as my duty; But let no man that will not condemn himself upon the same common obligations to do what I did, account me a Rebell therefore, because with the same breath that I did swear, and with that same hand that I did subscribe to preserve and defend Religion, I did also swear to defend the King and his Authority.

Our Church was not more glorious in her self and terrible to her Adversaries, while we enjoyed pure Ordinances of Word and Sacraments, and her beautiful Assemblies for Government and Discipline, of the Lords

own Institution, then she became of late deformed by the Usurpation and Tyranny of Prelacy; And I do solemnly declare as a dying man, who dare not dissemble, that as I thought and still averre, that the erecting of this abused Prelacy is the cause of much of the Sin in the Land, and of all the sufferings of the Lords People therein: so I had no worse design, than the restoring of the Work of Reformation according to the Covenant, and more particularly the extirpation of Prelacy, to which his Majesty and all the Subjects are as much obliged as I. And let that be removed, and the Work of Reformation restored, and I dare die in saying, that his Majesty shall not have in all his Dominions, more loving, loyall, peaceable and faithfull Subjects, than these who for their non-compliance are loaded with the reproaches of Phanaticisme and Rebellion.

The sufferings and insupportable oppression of these that could not, because of the Command & Oath of God, acknowledge and comply with Prelacy, may seem light to some, in whom the spirit of the old enmity that is betwixt the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent remaineth, and to others (perhaps their Friends) who look thereupon at a distance, but as there is just reason to think, that if these rigid oppressions had been made known to his Majesty his justice and clemency would have provided a remedy, and as the half thereof would have made the Prelats, their patrons and adherents impatiently mad, for as loyall as they pretend to be; So in the like cases of irresistible necessity, when there is no open door for representing of grievances and desires, and less hope of relief thereby, I suppose it will not be found condemned by the Confessions of Reformed Churches or doctrine of sound Divines, but that it is authorized by the light and law of Nature, by uncondemned examples in the Holy Scripture, and by the practice of all Christian States, by Armes, to preserve and defend mens Lives

their Religion, Liberties and Fortunes; And especially, where they are not seeking to acquire a new Religion, or new Liberties, but only to preserve their old or recover them, when they are violently and unjustly spoiled of the same, as in our case; Otherwise we should sin against the generation of the just, and condemn, as rebellious, the most of the through Reformations of the Reformed Churches abroad, and of our own at home.

If this course was lawfull, and if it was our duty to joyn therein, as I believe and lay down my life in the persuasion that it was; and if all the Kingdom was (as they are) bound by Covenant to assist and defend one another in the Common Cause of Religion and Liberty, whatever may be said of these that came not forth to help the Lord against the mighty, it cannot but be their dreadful sin, who joyned themselves in Armes, or took Oaths to oppose, suppress and break it, seeing they have sided themselves against the Lord and his Work, and their carriage is a much higher degree of Accession to the blood that is shed, than *Paul's* keeping of the cloathes of them that stoned *Stephen* to death; And I wish that they may lay the matter to heart and repent of it, that God may forgive them, as I forgive all men, and particularly *Morton* who did apprehend me.

I know that there is a holy seed in the Land, who shall be the substance thereof, and I pray that the Lord may make them more zealous and valiant for the truth upon earth; I know also that there are many, whose bowells of compassion have been drawn forth toward these who took their lives in their hands, by Prayers to God for them and Charity to them, and especially in *Edinburgh* toward the poor Prisoners (of whom I may not only say, that what they have done, deserveth to be told for a Memorial, wherever the Gospel is preached but am assuredly confident, that besides the blessings of the poor and

persecuted, the Lord is not unrighteous to forget their work and labour of love, which they have shewed towards his Name, in that they have ministered to the Saints and do minister) And yet I must needs regrave, that so many in this City once famous and honoured for harmonious owning of the Cause & Covenant of God, and blessed above many other Cities with solemn Assemblies for Worship and Government, should have been ensnared into an Oath so contradictory to the Oath of the Covenant; and which was devised, contrived and imposed in lieu of the Declaration against the same, and for a Gravestone to suppress the revival of the Work of God within this Land.

The Apostacy of this Land is very great by Perjury and breach of Covenant, and so much the worse and more aggregable, that it is Authorized and very universal: And as I cannot but regrave that so many are insnared therein, so I must needs warne all to abhorre and beware of all Declarations and Oaths contradictory to the Covenant and renunciatory thereof, as they would not involve themselves in the guilt and plagues denounced against, and ordinarily inflicted upon Perjury and breach of Covenant; and so much the rather, because this is like to be the *Shibboleth* and trial of the times.

As for my self I have seen and do find so much worth in Truth, which is to be bought at any rate, but sold at none, And so much transcendent excellency and amenableness in Christ, that not only with cheerfulness and confidence I lay down my life for Him and His Truth, committing my soul to Him to be kept in hope of a joyful Resurrection of the body; but also bless Him that gave me a life to lose, and a body to lay down for Him. And although the Market and price of Truth may appear to many very high, yet I reckon it low, and all that I have or can do is, little and too little for Him, who gave

Of Mr Alexander Robertson. 281

Himself for me and to me ; for I account all things but loss and dung for the excellency of the knowledge of Jesus Christ *My Lord*, for whom I now suffer the loss of all things, that I may win Him, and be found in Him, and that I may not only know the fellowship of His sufferings, but the power of His resurrection, and attain unto the resurrection of the dead.

And as for you, my dear Friends, as I pray for you, that the God of all grace, who hath called us unto his eternall glory by Christ Jesus, after ye have suffered a while, may make you perfect, stablish, strengthen and settle you ; so I recommend to you the same truth, that you be not soon shaken in mind, but that ye hold fast the profession of your faith without wavering ; And as you have received the Lord, so walk in Him ; Warning and obtesting you by all manner of obligations, and by the hope and joy of that crown which I wait for, that ye keep your selves unspotted with the abominable courses and practices of these times, whereunto ye may be tempted by the extremity of suffering ; and particularly that ye beware of unlawfull Oaths and Declarations against the Cause and Covenant of God, that ye have no compliance with, nor give consent unto this Prelacy, which ye have abjured ; And that you be afraid and aware of Popery, which by Connivance doth so visibly abound and daily increase ; But by fighting the good fight and keeping of the faith, you may finish your course, as I do, in the assurance of the crown of Righteousness, which the Lord the righteous Judge, hath laid up and shall give unto me, and not to me only, but to all them that love His appearance.

Alexander Robertson.

The Testimony of
J O H N N E I L S O N,
 Of *Corfack* who died at *Edinburgh.*
 Dec. 14. 1666.

BEing made a spectacle to the World , to Angels , and to Men , I found it necessary , for vindication of the Truth and of my self , for undeceiving of some , and encouraging of others , to leave this line behind me , which with my innocent blood may speak when I am gone.

I am condemned (I shall not say how unjustly) as a Rebell against Man , But the Lord God of Gods He knoweth , and all *Israel* shall know that it is not for Rebellion against God , but for endeavouring to recover the blessed work of Reformation , and particularly for endeavouring to extirpate Prelacy , which hath been the cause of so much sin and suffering within this Land , and for renewing of the Covenant , from the obligation whereof (seeing I made my Vow & promise to the Lord) neither I my self , nor any humane Authority can absolve me. And if any account this Rebellion , I do plainly confess , that after the way which they call Heresy , I worship the God of my Fathers.

Although the insupportable oppression , under which I and many others did groan , were enough to justify our Preserving and Defending of our selves by Armes , yet know that the Cause was not Ours but the Lord's ; for we suffered all our grievous Oppressions not for evil-doing , but because we could not in conscience acknowledge , comply with , & obey Prelacy , & submit unto the Ministry of Ignorant , light & Prophane men , who were irregularly & violently thrust upon us ; neither did we only or mainly designe our civil Liberties , but the Liberty

of the Gospel, the Extirpation of Prelacy; the Restauration of our faithful Pastors, the Suppression of Prophecy, Promoving of Piety, the saving of our selves from unjust violence, until we had presented our Grievances and Desires; And in a word, the Recovering of the once glorious, but now ruined Work of Reformation, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government, according to the National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant, to which I declare my adherence, and through grace shall seal the same with my blood.

My *Advocate* drew up a Supplication for me, where, in was acknowledged that I had been with the *Rebels*; but let none offend thereat: For I do hereby declare, that I was so far from accounting that course Rebellion, that I judged, and still do judge it was my duty to joyn therein, and my honour to suffer therefore, Otherwise, I should have counted my self accessory to the blood of the Lords People which is shed: And cannot but regrave that others of the Lords People, when they heard of this, did not come forth with speed to help the Lord against the Mighty; much more let all mourn, that not only many have appeared as Enemies, but also conjured themselves against the Lord, and the same Covenant which they so solemnly sware; And as for the Petition itself, I knew not that that expression was in it.

Being conscious to my self of so much weakness, and so many hainous sins which predomine in me, and of unfruitfulness under the Gospel, and unsutable walking thereto; I confess my self the vilest of sinners, and desire to mourn for the same, and pray that the Lord for Christs sake may freely forgive me, and hope through the righteousness of Jesus Christ to obtain the same; And I do exhort all & every one of my friends to more holiness, Prayer andstedfastness, alwayes abounding in the Work of the Lord; And above all things, to detest

test and shun that wicked Declaration against the Covenant, the apparent temptation of the time, and the very mark of Antichristian Prelacy.

All that I have is but little, but if I had many Worlds, I would lay them all down, as now I do my life for Christ and His Cause, nothing doubting but the Lord will abundantly provide for my wife and my six Children, whom I commit to the Lords care, and recommend to the Kindness and Prayers of the faithful; And do lay an expresse charge on my wife that she shew all my Children, that I have bound them all to the Covenant, for which now I lay down my life, and that She lay it upon them as my last command, that they adhere to every Article thereof.

The Work and People of God are brought very low: It may be, because they were not ripe for a deliverance. And for the greater trial, and filling up of the cup of the Adversaries; Or, because there was little, or less prayer than should have been amongst these who appeared at this time, that the Lord hath made this late breach. But, dear Friends, be not therefore tempted to call in question the Work of Reformation; or to think the worse of Christ and his cause, because of sufferings; Nor be discouraged, because these few who took their lives in their hands, fell before the Adversary; for as sufferings are often sweetened by the Spirit of God and Glory that resteth upon the sufferers, and afterward bring forth the peaceable fruits of righteousness unto them that are exercised thereby; so the Lord will arise in due time, and have mercy upon Zion, and plead the cause which is his own: And this Testimony, as I am this day to seal with my blood, so I subscribe with my hand.

JOHN NEILSON of CORSACK.

The

The Testimony of
GEORGE CRAWFORD,
 Yeoman who died at *Edinburgh,*
 Decemb. 14. 1666.

Seeing I am to die after this manner, I lay before you this Testimony, which I avow before God, & leave behind me to the World.

That which moved me to come along with these men, was their perswasion, and my desire to help them (which with a safe conscience I could not well refuse) who, being tyrannically opprest by the Prelats and their dependants and upholders, and seeing no other way was left to be taken, took up Armes for their own defence; And if this be Rebellion, I leave it to the great God the supream Judge to decern: For in my weak judgement, I found it warrantable from the Word of God, and without prejudice of the Kings Authority (whom I pray God to direct and guide in the right wayes of the Lord, and to make him prosper therein, so that he may be surely set in his Kingdome, having him whom no enemy can resist to defend him) seeing there was nothing intended by us, against his or any others iust and lawful Authority.

But that which was my principal and chief design, was giving my poor assistance to the rooting out of Prelats and Prelacy, and all such as are come into Gods vineyard without the Masters commission, these Hirelings who came not in at the true door, *Iesus Christ*, but have climbed up some other way as thieves and robbers, whose voice the sheep know not (All which is too sadly confirmed by the dreadful and horrid sins that are risen in the Land, and the curses and plagues that have

have followed thereupon) that so by taking away these the abuses which proceed from them, and the sad consequences, which follow their standing or falling with them, the Covenant of God might be re-established, and true Pastors that were silenced might be set at liberty, their mouths opened, and they themselves put to the keeping of their flocks, and all other such persons, who were banished, or any other way under suffering, relieved.

And I do adhere to the way of Church Government sworn to in the Covenant, which I think and assert to be conform to Gods Word; which, with his Spirit directing, is the only Patern and judge in all controversies: And however our endeavours at this time have not been successful, it is of the Lord, who will come in his own time, for He can do as well with few as with many; but it is like, the cup of the Adversaries is now full: And who knoweth, but the Lord God of hosts, who will hiss for the bee of *Egypt*, and the flie of *Assyria*, who will be more cruel and blood thirsty than we were, to avenge the quarrel of his own People, and to make way for the establishing of his own Cause. I say no more, but as I was willing to hazard my life for this cause, so I am ready to lay it down at my Masters feet, (seeing he is for it: & I pray the Almighty, to send his Spirit of Consolation promised by his Son to his own people, to strengthen them and bear them through, till the appointed time of the Lords coming with Deliverance; for he will come for his own Cause, and for his peoples sake, and will not tarry.

**The last speech and Testimony of
Mr H E W Mc K A I L L.
Preacher of the Gospel , and Probationer
for the Ministry at his death in Edinburgh ,
Decemb. 22. 1666.**

Being by a great surprisal of Providence, thus staged before the World, in a matter of so universal concernment to all that fear God and desire to be stedfast in his Covenant, I could not forbear to leave behind me this standing Testimony, concerning the Occasion and Uses thereof, for the Glory of God, in the Vindication of my Profession from the aspersions cast thereon by Men, and the Edification of these by my death, to whom I had devoted my Life in the work of the Ministry.

I have esteemed the Government of this Church by Synodry, to be among the chief of the Ordinances of Jesus Christ, which by his blood he hath purchased, and ascended up on high to bestow as a gift upon it; as being the very Gospel Ministry in its Simplicieity and Purity from the Inventions of Men, and so the Mean by which other Ordinances are administred, and the most fundamental Truths made effectual in the hearts of his people, and therefore that it ought with that same carefulness to be contended for. Experience both of the having and wanting of it, hath given it this Epistle of Commendation, so as it may be both known and read of all men: Which is also true of the solempne Engagements of the Nation thereto, by the National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant, which I have esteemed in their Rise and Renewing, pregnant performances of that promise, *Isaiah. 44: 5*, where it is evident, that
where

where Church Reformations come to any maturity, they arrive at this degree of saying, *I am the Lords, and subscribing with the hand unto the Lord*. So was it in the dayes of the Reforming Kings of *Iudah*, and after the Restauration from the Captivity in the dayes of *Nehemiah*: This same promise did the Lord *Jesus* make *Yea* and *Amen* to us, when he redeemed us from spirituall *Babylon*, which is so much the greater evidence, that these were the very Motions of Gods Spirit in our first Reformers, that they were expressely designed against the greatest motions of the Spirit of Darkness in Antichrist and his supposts, and against the greatest confirmations that ever these Abominations attained by the decrees of the Council of *Trent*, and that bloody Bond called, the *Holy League*. And therefore whatever indignity is done unto these Covenants, I do esteeme to be no less than doing despite unto the Spirit of Grace in his most eminent Exerting of himself; but especially *Declaring* against the same as flowing from a Spirit of Sedition and Rebellion, to be a Sin of the same nature with theirs, who ascribed Christ his casting out of Devils to *Beelzebub*; and that with this aggravation, that these *Scribes* and *Pharisees* came never the length of professing Christ, and submitting themselves to Him and his waves.

But we are condemned to death upon the account of this Covenant, for adhering to the duties therein sworn to, by such as once did as much themselves as we have done, and some of them more than some of us: Which considerations have moved me to great feares of Gods wrath against the Land, according to the curse that we are bound under, if we should break that Covenant, and in the fear of it many times to powr out my soul before the Lord: and as soon as I heard of a Party up in Armes in behalf of the Covenant; (all other door being shut) whereby the redress of the manifest violations of it might be obtained, and these by manifest and unheard of violence.

lence obruded upon others) to go along with them, being bound by that Covenant against detestable indifferency and Neutrality in this matter, and to esteem every injury done to any ingaged in this Covenant, upon account of it, as done to my self: Very Conscience of duty urged me to this, against some reluctancy of fear of what might follow. Upon the same reasons at *Lamrik*, with the rest I declared my adherence to the Covenant, by my lifting up of my hand, after the Articles thereof were read.

And here I cannot but with grief of heart acknowledge my fainting in a day of trial, that being ingaged with them upon such accounts, I many times in fear designed to withdraw, and at length did, which, as it was the occasion of my falling into the hands of the Enemy, so I think among other things it was the cause why God delivered me into their hands. Upon the same fear, in all my Examinations I have denied my ingagement with them, and endeavoured to Vindicate my self, by asserting the real designs I had to part from them, and have utterly cast away the glory of a testimony, which my very being in their company, as a favourer of the ends of the Covenant, and as one willing to contribute my best endeavours for the promoting of them, but especially my declaring for the Covenant, did bear unto the Truth and Ordinances of Jesus Christ against this untoward Generation: This I confesse to be no less than a denying of Jesus Christ, and a being ashamed of his Words before men; but I hope the Lord who remembreth that we are but frail dust, shall not lay it to my charge, but according to his faithfulness and Grace will forgive me, who by this Publick Confession, take to my self shame and confusion of face, and flee to the propitiation offered to all sinners in Jesus Christ. And these things as they have procured this death unto me, as an act of Gods justice; so they mind me of other evils in mine own heart.

I

that

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that have been the source of this my unwillingness to take on Christ's Cross : My heart hath not studied to maintaine that Spirituality in walking with God, and Edifying Exemplariness with others, that became one that had received the first fruits of the Spirit, and aimed at the Ministry of the Gospel, living in times of so much calamity for the Church of God, and particular afflictions as to my self. If I had spent my dayes in groaning after my house from Heaven, would I have shifted so fair an occasion of being cloathed with it ? Alas that I have loved my Lord and Master Jesus Christ so little ! Alas that I have done so little service to him, that I have so little labour to follow Me to my Everlasting rest. This I speak to these especially, with whom I have familiarly conversed in my Pilgrimage, that seeing the Lord will not grant me Life to testify my real Reformation of these things, my acknowledgement at Death may have influence upon them, to study not only Godliness but the Power of it.

As I knowledge that I have not been free & ingenuous in these particulars forementioned, so in other things, wherein I interponed that Holy name of God, as to the not being upon the Contrivance of this rising in Armes, nor privy to any resolution thereanent, nor conscious of any Intelligence at home or abroad concerning it, I was most ingenuous : As they have wronged me much, who said that I denied upon Oath, that which they were able to make out against me, or knew to be truth ; But none alleage Perjury against me, but such as are so manifestly guilty of it before the World, that their tongues in such alleagences are no slander.

Although I be Judged and condemned as a Rebel amongst Men, Yet I hope even in order to this Action to be accepted as Loyal before God. Nay there can be no greater act of Loyalty to the King, as the times now go, than for every man to do his utmost for the Extirpation

of that abominable plant of Prelacy, which is the bane of the Throne and of the Countrey : which if it be not done, the Throne shall never be established in Righteousness, until these wicked be removed from before it. Sure I am, these who are now condemned as Rebels against Him by them, are such as have spent much time in prayer for Him, & do more sincerely wish his standing, and have endeavoured it more by this late action so much condemned, than the Prelates by condemning them to death.

This *Disaster* hath heigh:ened greatly the Afflictions of our Church, and ought to teach all of you to drink the Wine of Astonishment : Ye have not known tribulation till now ; Now we Judge them happy that are fallen asleep and removed far away, and know that God hath been taking away his Servants from the Evils that were to come. Know that God's designe is to make many hearts contrite, that have been formerly too whole, and have not lamented sufficiently the removall of his Ordinances and Ministry, & the reproach rubbed upon the Work of Reformation. Beware that your sorrow be not a momentary motion of common Compassion, that evanisheth when it may be, there is some intermission in this violent course of shedding innocent blood : Labour to have a constant impression that may sacrifice the heart, nay ye would live much in apprehension of approaching Judgement. Certainly the Withdrawing of many from us, and not contributing their help to the great work they were ingaged to, as well as we, the generall Rising against us in many places of the Countrey, but above all this open shedding of the blood of the Saints, which involveth the land in the guiltiness of all the righteous blood shed from the foundation of the World, have made *Scotland* fit fiewell for the fire of Gods Wrath. I can say nothing concerning times to come, but this, All things shall work together

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for good to them that Love God, and so this present dispensation ; And they shall have most comfort in this promise, who are most willing that such afflictions as we are brought to, be the way that God chooseth to work their good.

Commit wholly the management of all matters to God, and make it your intire study night and day to keep your very garments clean : It is hard in times of so generall Corruptions not to be defiled one way or other ; be free of the Sin as you would be of the Judgements, which will certainly be such as will make all the Churches Know, that God is the searcher of the hearts and trier of the reins, *Revel. 2. 23.* and so will not be mocked by these pretences, whereby men colour their going along in an evill course, from the real Love that they have to a present world. If naked Presence amongst them who are esteemed Rebels by men, be sufficient to engage them in the Crime and Punishment (for that is all the ground of my Condemnation) shall not God be much more Zealous of his own glory, against all who so much as seem to go along with this course of backsliding.

As a good Mean and encouragement, to all the duties of our time, labour to be rooted and grounded in the Love of Jesus Christ ; This will be tender of any thing that may have the least reflexion upon him, his Words or Works, and will prompt the soul to Zealous appearing for Him at the greatest hazard, and to as much willingness to die for Him, as to Live that they may Glorify Him. And for the encouragement of you all in this matter, I do declare, that ever since the day of my coming into prison, God hath kepted my soul free from all Amazement or fear of death ; that since my inditement and sentence, God hath so manifested Himself at several times, that he hath lifted up my soul above Prelats, Principalities, and Powers, Death and Hell, to rejoyce
and

and be glad in His Salvation ; and from my soul to account him Worthy , for whom in this his Cause I should undergo the greatest shame or Paine; And to the assured hopes of Eternal Communion with him in Heaven: And that nothing hath more brangled my peace, than shifting an open and free testimony before my Examinators , to the work that I was engaged in.

I do freely pardon all that have accession to my blood, and wish that it be not laid to the charge of this sinful Land , but that God would grant Repentance to our Rulers , that they may obtaine the same reconciliation with Him , whereof I my self do partake. Truly I believe many of them, if not instigated by the cruel Prelats (at whose door our blood doth principally ly) would have used more mitigation: But that reluctancy of mind to shed blood , will be so far from Vindicating of them, that upon the contrary , it will be a witness against them in the Day of the Lord.

I heartily submit my self to Death, as that which God hath appointed to all men because of Sin , and to this particular way of it, as deserved by my particular Sins. I praise God for this Fatherly chastisement , whereby he hath made me in part, and will make me perfectly partaker of his Holiness. I glorify Him that called me forth to suffer for His Name and Ordinances , and the solemn engagements of the Land to Him, and that he hath taken this way to take me away from the evill to come. The Lord bless all His Poor Afflicted groaning People that are behind.

Hereafter I will nor talk with flesh and blood , nor think on the Worlds consolations : Farewel all my Friends, whose company hath been refreshful to me in my Pilgrimage ; I have done with the Light of the Sun and Moon. Welcome Eternal Life, Everlasting Love, Everlasting Praise, Everlasting Glory. Prayse to Him that sits upon the Throne, and to the Lamb for ever.

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Though I have not been so with Thee as I ought to have been in the house of my Pilgrimage, yet thou hast made with me an Everlasting Covenant, Ordered in all things & Sure. And this is all my Salvation, and all my desire. Bless the Lord O my Soul ! that hath pardoned all my Iniquities in the Blood of His Son, and healed all my Diseases. Bless Him O all ye his Angels that excell in strength, ye Ministers that do his pleasure. Bless the Lord O my Soul ! Hallelujah. *Edinburgh Tolbooth, December 22. 1666.* Sic subscribitur

Henr Mc Kail.

I Have heard that some of the Prisoners are willing to save their lives by taking the Declaration, That is, by abjuring the Work and Cause for which they adventured their Lives: Which if they do, our blood shall bear witness against them in the great Day of God. And God shall so punish some of them in this Life, that they shall curse the day that ever they shifted to dy on a scaffold.

Henr Mc Kail.

The Testimony of
JOHN WOODROW,
Merchant in *Glasgow*, who died
in *Edinburgh*, Decemb. 22. 1666.

Dear Friends.

I Am condemned to die, I shall say little concerning men who have judged and condemned me, they are to answer to God for it; But I bless the Lord, who

hath counted me worthy to die for so good and honourable a cause. And that I be not mistaken after I am gone hence I have thought fit to testify that in singleness and sincerity of heart, I came into the service, not constrained, but from conscience of my being engaged by Covenant to God, and with a full purpose to perform my vows made in that Covenant unto the Lord, in the strength of Jesus Christ, And that I might endeavour to restore again the precious Ordinances to their former purity and power, and to recover the fair Church in this Land (which our blessed Lord hath purchased to Himself, and brought at so dear a rate) to her former Beauty, which is now defaced: And particularly to bring down that Antichristian Prelacy, and that perjured crew of Prelats, who have so perfidiously wronged the Interest of our blessed Lord & Master, Jesus Christ. This is the only Cause for which I undertook this service, and joyned with others my dear and Covenanted brethren; And that I had no intention to wrong the Kings person or Authority, but to seek his real good, according to my duty in the Word of God; and also as I sware in the same Covenant wherein I did swear against Prelacy. And notwithstanding I be condemned of men as a *Rebel*, yet I am justified of God, my God & Father, in and through my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who giveth me sweet peace of conscience and joy of heart: I grant it is not enough to justifie me before Him, that I had a just Cause, unless likewise I had therewith the acceptation of my person through Faith in the Merits of Jesus Christ, who standeth in our nature in heaven, which I dare declare this day as a dying man, that I have obtained; for I am confident through His righteousness made over unto me, He hath made me free, in which I shall stand for ever; and that within a few hours I shall see Him in peace, as I am seen of Him; and behold and wonder, and wonder and behold for

Evermore that most glorious excellency of His: And this yeeldeeth to me great consolation in all my extremities, were they never so great; This I say is my peace and consolation this day, even Christ my Righteousness, who hath both accepted my Person and Cause: Therefore I count it a small thing to be judged and condemned of men, for my Testimony is on high, and my record in heaven.

And now, *my Friends*, I am condemned to die for adhering to my Covenant made with God, for Reformation of Religion and Conversation, to which all ranks of the Land are as well bound as I, though many (alas! too many) shaking off all fear of God have despised the Oath, not only by breaking the Covenant, but by professing and declaring avowedly the bond thereof null, and not binding either to their own or other mens consciences: And this mischief is framed by a Law, which doth greatly heighten the Sin, O! tell it not in *Gath*, and publish it not in *Askelon*. Oh! that this should be heard of amongst Papists and Pagans, that professed Reformed Protestants should stand in so little awe of a solemn Oath, & Name of the great and living God.

But I exhort and obtest you all, that so much the more as others have made void his Covenant, you would esteem it the more precious, and closely follow the Reformation vowed, in every Article thereof, upon all occasions given you of the Lord; And that you abhorre, detest and refuse any engagement whatsoever, that may wrong your Oath in the Covenant directly or indirectly, as ye would escape the wrath of God that is coming on such breaking of Covenant, but rather choose the greatest extremity of affliction, than the least sin of this sort: as *Moses* did, who refused to be called the Son of *Pharaohs* Daughter, but chused rather to suffer reproach for Christ; And be not afraid of suffering for Christ as though

though it were an evil thing, neither fear ye at His croſs for the Lord Himſelf ſaith, *My yoke is eaſy and My burthen light*; Yea it is lighter to us than to many that ſtand by: Believe; Faith maketh all burthens light to the believing Sufferer.

And now I beſeech you believers in Chriſt, abide in Him, and bring forth fruit unto Holineſs, and ſtudy tendereſs in all manner of converſation, and holineſs, without which no man ſhall ſee the Lord; and let not this prophane & mocking Generation have any thing to reproach you with, but that whereof you would not be aſhamed, that when you ſuffer ye may not ſuffer as evil doers, that whereas they ſpeak evil of you, they may be aſhamed that ſally accuſe your good converſation in Chriſt. It is not knowledge nor a bare Profeſſion that glorifieth God, but Tenderneſs, Holineſs and Righteouſneſs, that do commend Religion and his Cauſe to all men, and ſhall convince your Adverſaries of their Wickedneſs in wronging you, and make them the more inexcusable in that day, when they ſhall be judged: Yea, what know ye, but ye may win others by your tender and good converſation?

I recommend to you, that ye would be much and fervent in the uſe of that precious duty of Prayer wherein moſt near Communion with God upon earth is to be found: Be much in prayer with, and for others. Forſake not the aſſembling of your ſelves together as the manner of ſome is (I wiſh they may ſee the evil of it who neglect it) but exhort one another, and ſo much the more, as ye ſee the day approaching: Earneſtneſs and diligence will haſten the Lords coming with relief unto you, and to the Lords born down Work: & your ſlackneſs in this, may make the wheels of his chariot to move the more ſlowly. For the effectual fervent prayer of the righteous availeth much with God; It will do more than

Armies of men and weapons of War for your defence and deliverance.

I beseech you also, *my dear Friends*, that you acquaint yourselves with the Word of God in the holy Scripture, that ye may have acquaintance with Iesus Christ, who is clearly set forth therein; that ye may know him in his excellency, and come to love and believe in him, whom ye know; that ye may be acquainted with his revealed will therein, and may know what is truth, and cleave fast thereto, from a sure perswasion that it hath the warrant of his word; and may be guarded against every error of the wicked, and that ye may fully know what is good and what is evil; and that ye may suffer with confidence, when ye are brought forth thereto as I am.

Finally, *my dear Friends*, be ye perfect, be of good comfort, be of one minde, live in peace, and the God of love and peace shall be with you.

JOHN WODROW.

The Copy of

J O H N W O D R O W

His Letter to His VVife, dated Decemb. 22. 1666. which was the Day on which He suffered.

My Heart.

REVERENCE the good Providence of the Lord our God, who can do nothing wrong; For whatsoever he doth is well done, and my Soul saith, *Amen*. I had not a will

of my own (my heart) since that day wherein You and I parted, My Lord and my God captivared it, and brought it to a submission unto his will: I bless him for evermore for it, that I was never left to my own will; Praise, O praise him all ye living! And O thou my soul praise the Lord for it. I bless the Lord evermore, that ever he visited my Fathers Family, that ever he condescended to come unto my Fathers Family, and to give a visit to the like of me: He visited me there, and set his Love upon me, and hath chosen me for this very end, to be a witness for his covenanted Reformation. For this my Soul is gald, & my Glory rejoyceth for this honour, where with he hath honoured me; And that, though I be condemned to die by men on earth, yet am I justified of God through the blood of my Saviour Jesus Christ, who standeth in our nature in heaven, and hath made me free through his imputed Righteousness made over unto me, in which I stand for ever; And within a few hours I shall see him in peace, as I am seen of him, and behold and wonder, and wonder and behold for evermore, even that most glorious excellency which is in him. All that which is spoken of him is but little: O my heart, my dear love, come and see I beseech you? I thought I had known something of my dearest Lord before, that I had some love from & to him before, but never was it so with me, as it hath been with me since I came within the doors of this prison; many a precious visit hath his gracious Majesty given unto me. He is without all comparison; O love, love him! O come to him, O taste and see, and that shall resolve the question best. The thing I suffer for is the Covenanted Reformation. I bless God, and all that is within me doth bless and magnify his holy Name for this, that Scotland did ever enter into a Covenant with the Lord, into a sworn Covenant, with the hand lifted up to the Lord: And I have now sworn & renewed this Covenant again for my self and you, and my four Children in all the parts and points

points thereof; And I pray, God help you to abide in the Covenant for ever.

And now I give you and my four Children unto the Lord, and commit you to him as your Covenanted God and Husband, and my Childrens Covenanted Father. I say no more, but either study to be indeed a sincere Christian, and a seeker of his face in sincerity, or else you will be nothing at all. I recommend you and your young ones to him, who is God all sufficient, and aboundeth in mercy and love to them that love him and keep his Covenant. The blessing of the Covenant be upon you, so fare you well.

So saith

Your loving and dying Husband

JOHN WODROW.

The Testimony of

R A L P H S H I E L D S,

An English man who died in *Edinburgh*,
Decemb. 22. 1666.

My Friends.

I Am come here to die, and I thank God, it is not for evil doing that I now suffer: although I be charged with Rebellion against the Kings authority, yet I declare before God and you all, that in all this matter I never intended to wrong his Majesties just Power and greatness for conscience sake did respect authority, as the Ordinance of God appointed for the punishment of evil does, & that I with his Ma: all welfare both in this life, and the world to come, and that it may be his happinefs to consider his

Obligations to God and Perform the same, that so it may be well with him and his Posterity to many generations; and I pray God make him a friend to His Cause, and the truly Godly who own the same, though falsely called Phanaticks or turbulent persons.

I declare I have such perswasion of the Interest of Religion Reformed, and sworn unto in the Covenant, that I dare venture not only to lay down my own life, but if every hair of my head were a man, they should all be put to venture for this cause: I would not have the world to stumble at the Cause, because of my death after this manner; for I rejoyce greatly in it, and I desire every good Christian as they tender their own souls good that they would grip fast, lay hold on, and cleave to Jesus Christ and his way.

My coming out at this time (I say) was not against his Majesty, but for the Covenant which is now trodden under foot; My intention was for the cause of Christ; I take God to witness, it was nothing else I came out for, and for that I am free to lay down my life.

I blefs God I am much encouraged in this, and not at all afraid to die for so good and clear a cause; and I hope He will bring me thorow all my difficulties in this dark shadow of death: I hope I have the peace of a good conscience, and have had some glimpses from Jesus Christ of His countenance and reconciled Face, since I came into this prison, for which I desire to blefs His Name with all my soul, heart and spirit. And I rejoyce that He hath made use of me to suffer for His Cause; And I think it too little, not only to lay down my body, but (if it were possible) even my very soul at the stake for that cause, and for Iesus Christ my good and kind Master, who hath loved me and given Himself for me. I give the Lord thanks that I had some of his presence since I came into this condition: And again I say, I am much
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encouraged and not afraid to die, and bleſs him that die not as murtherer, or evil doer, or Rebel to Authority, but for ſuch a cauſe as this.

O that it were the happineſs of my Nation of *England*, once to ſubject themſelves unto the ſweet yoke of Chriſts Reformed Government, under which this Nation of *Scotland* hath enjoyed ſo much of the Power and life of the Goſpel, by a faithful Miniſtry according to the Covenant ſworn by them both.

And now, *my dear Friends in Chriſt, and fellow Covenanters*, though I be a ſtranger in this Land, being an *Engliſh man*, but triſted by providence in the proſecution of my calling, to have my reſidence for a time here in *Scotland*, which I look upon, as a ſingular evidence of Gods ſpecial love to me, though I be a ſtranger, I ſay, to many of you, yet I muſt be bold as a dying friend, to beſeech you by the mercy of God, and by your appearance before Jeſus Chriſt, when we ſhall have to do with none but Him as our Iudge, that ye be faithful and ſtedfaſt in the cauſe of God, and Covenant which ye have ſworn with hands liſted up to the moſt high God, which no power on earth can looſe you from, and that ye keep you from ſnares unto the contrary, and not ſuffer your ſelves to fall into a deteſtable Neutrality and Indifferency in that cauſe of God; And eſpecially that ye keep your ſelves free of any Engagements by word or write, that may wrong your Oath of the Covenant. I commit my Wife and Children to his care, who careth for them that put their truſt in Him before the Sons of men, not doubting but they ſhall be eyed with goodwil and favour by the Godly, after I am gone. And now I render up my Spirit to him who gave it me, & for whoſe ſake I now lay down my life. To this God my Covenanted God, be glory, bleſſing and praiſe for now and ever, *Amen*.

That this is my mind and Teſtimony, which I leave

leave behind me, I witness by my ordinary subscription,

R. SHIELDS.

The Testimony of
HUMPHREY COLHOUNE,
At this Death in *Edinburgh*, De-
cemb. 22. 1666.

Dear Friends and Spectators,

I Am come here this day to this Place to die this Death, for crimes for which (I thank God) my Conscience doth not condemn me. My crime, as is alleaged, is for Disloyalty against the Kings Majesty ; Yet I thank God, that my appearing lately with the Lords People was from the sense of my obligation in the Covenant, and the sense of the wrongs done in the Land, and the crying oppressions committed therein. This was the end of my appearing for the Lord against His enemies, to bear witness against the same: The which obligation of the Oath of God, I judge that none on earth can loose the Conscience from. I bless the Lord again and again, I die for this Oath and Covenant ; And I thank God also, that I have by the great mercy of the Almighty God in Christ Jesus, obtained mercy and forgiveness for all my transgressions both against the first and second Table of the Law : And that through that Ocean of grace which is in the Lord Jesus Christ, I believe that I am justified and sanctified, and believe now to be glorified with Him, by that blessed blood of His, which hath purchased this Salvation to me, through faith in the same,

fame, made application of, according to the good Covenant of grace. He hath performed this, out of his wonderful and incomparable free grace: And this is my joy & exceeding great rejoycing & consolation. and all my salvation, for which I am Graces debtor throughout all Eternity. I die with this my Testimony, my adherence to the National Covenant, to the Solemn League and Covenant, to the Work of Reformation a great length carried on, and now overthrown most sinfully by ungodly Men, who have established their Apostacy by Law, which no just Power on earth could ever do. Also I adhere to the Presbyterial Government, the Confession of Faith, Catechisms Larger and Shorter, And to the Solemn Acknowledgement of the Church of *Scotland*, and Publick Testimonies thereof against the sins of the time. This day I rejoyce that he hath counted me worthy to lay down my life for him, as one that beareth witness against the breach of all the Sacred Oaths & Ties that were established in this Land, yea by the just Lawes both of God and Man, which never could have been repealed lawfully, as this wicked Generation hath done.

Dear Friends, I hope ye will stand fast in this Obligation, and in the Solemn Oath and Ties ye are under, and all the body of the Land also will be stedfast in the same, upon the greatest hazard ye can meet with; And that ye will study perfect holiness and nearness with God, which will help to keep you straight in this day of Persecution and sharp Trial that is now raging in this Land: I bless the Lord, I die not a fool, though some men have thought so of me by their speeches of me, since my imprisonment: Neither durst I ever be the man to buy my liberty at such a dear rate as Perjury, & to shake off these blessed bonds I did willingly come under; and I thank God, I never yet to this moment rued or repented it; And sure I am it is better for me to suffer the

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worst of deaths, than to preserve my life by breaking the Oaths of God. I also give my Testimony against Prelacy, and that wicked Hierarchy now established in this Land, as that which the Church of Christ could never bear until this day, it being such a grand Enemy to the purity of the Gospel, and power of Godliness, yea a yoke which the Church of God groaneth under. I have no more to say, but commends all you the lovers of our Lord Jesus Christ to God himself, and to the good word of his grace, which is able to build you up until the day of his appearance, & to give you all an inheritance with them that are sanctified through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. And subscribes my self an expectant and apparent heir of the grace of Christ.

Humphrey Colborne.

The Testimony

J O H N W I L S O N,

Who suffered at *Edinburgh*,

Decemb. 22. 1666.

Good People and Spectators.

I Am here condemned to die upon alleaged Rebellion against the King and his Authority, which God knoweth, I never intended. For in my judgement, a man's endeavouring to extirpate perjured Prelates and abjured Prelacy, according as he is bound by Oath in a sworn Covenant, may very well stand with a man's Loyalty to King and Countrey; for I am sure, the King and his Subjects may be happy, yea more happy in the extirpation of *Prelates* and *Prelacy*, than in their standing; Yea the Throne shall never be established in

peace, until that wicked plant be plucked up by the roots, which hath so much wasted and made desolate the Lord's Vineyard: For my part, I pray that the Lord may bless our King with blessings from Heaven, and make him a friend to the Interests of Christ, as the best way for the standing of his Throne to many generations; And I pray for all that are in Authority under his Majesty, that the Lord may not lay to their charge the innocent blood of His Saints, which they have shed. But the ground of my sentence is truly, the renewing of the Covenant with my God, and labouring to defend the same, according to my Oath: And this I profess is and was my duty, and by the grace of God will not quite it; And in token hereof, I am here before you all to lay down my life in defence of the same, and require you all to be witnesses to this my Testimony; I do declare, I am not ashamed, but count it my glory. I do likewise declare this before you all in the sight of God, the Judge of all hearts, that since the day I did first swear and subscribe this Covenant for Reformation, it hath been sweet unto me, for I am perswaded in my Conscience of the warrantableness thereof. I did swear the Covenant four times, and the last time at *Lanrik*, which was the sweetest time to me of them all; For with my whole soul I renewed it, and gave up both my soul and body to Him, to be at His disposal, which, I trust in God, I shall never rue. Heartly praise and thanks be to the blessed God, that ever it pleased Him to give unto this poor Church that mercy to enter in Covenant with Himself, that He might be unto us a Covenanted God, the richest mercy that can be bestowed on men. I have lived a Presbyterian in my judgement according as I have sworn, and judge it to be the only way that God hath appointed in His word, for the Government of His Church on earth; for under that

Government the power and practice of Religion hath greatly flourished, and many a soul has been converted to the Lord, and found sweet fellowship with Him in His Ordinances, by the Ministry of His honest and lawfully called Servants. And blessed be the day that ever I heard a faithfull sent Minister preach the Gospell. I do declare before heaven and earth, that my whole designe in this Rising in Armes, was only against abjured *Prelacy* and *Prelates*, the great Oppressors of God's Interests, and cruell persecuters of His People, both in their consciences and bodies; and I judge their Government and way not to be conforme to the Word of God in the Holy Scriptures. I might cite many Scriptures to this purpose, but I shall only name two *Luke 22. 26. but ye shall not be so; but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve.* And *1 Pet. 5. 3. neither as being Lords over God's heritage, &c.* Yea it may be seen from sad experience, that under their Government, the power of Godliness hath decayed, and avowed prophanity and Poperie it self hath increased, both to the dishonour of the holy Lord, and the great grief of the hearts of the Godly. I am so perswaded of the truth of the Covenant, and of the error of their way, and that Jesus Christ is the only King and Lord over His own House, and besides Him there is none else, for He will not give his glory to another, I am so perswaded of these things, that I dare seal the truth thereof with my blood, and am come hither for the same end, without any fear or amazement; yea if every hair of mine head were a man, I would have ventured all according to the Covenant which I made with my God; And although I be a poor polluted sinner, and my house not so with God, as it became; yet hath he made with me an everlasting Covenant, well ordered in all things and sure, and this is all my Salvation and all my desire; And I hope the

Lord will soon tread down all His enemies with shame, and the enemies of His Covenant also. Therefore, let all that love the Lord Jesus Christ and His Truth and Covenant, take comfort and courage, notwithstanding of all which is come to pass, And let them not be ashamed to adhere thereunto, whatsoever sufferings they meet with therein, for He will make up that loss in Himself, and avenge the wrongs done to Himself and them in His own due time: I assure you, Christ is a good Master to serve: if ye knew Him rightly and His cross, it is sweet and easy to the believer; for He maketh death to be life, & bringeth light out of darkness. I desire to follow the blessed Captain of my salvation through well and wo. I beseech you, *my dear Friends*, whom now I am to part with, that ye stand to the defence of all the truths of God and of His Word, and that ye receive the Lord Christ, as He hath offered Himself therein, ye who have not closed with Him; And that he who hath closed with Him, abide in Him by a lively faith and love, bringing forth fruits, that you may put a credit on your profession, and keep off every thing that may shame your glorious and blessed Master before this evill and adulterous generation. And I give you all warning and dehort you heartily as ye love your own souls, and as ye will answer to Him, who shall judge the quick and dead, that ye stand fast in all the duties ye are sworn unto in the National and in the Solemn League and Covenant, both towards God, your King and one another: And that ye beware of snares in taking of any Oaths or Declarations contrary in the least, to the Oath of God in these Covenants. I leave my wife and little children upon Jesus Christ my Lord, who are now to be made a widow & fatherless for his sake, trusting, He will care for them, And I recommend them to the counsell and kindness of His people under Him. I can forgive the wrong done to me in taking away my

life

life for this Cause, and wish God to be merciful to these that have condemned me, or have hand in my death: But blessed be God, that brought and hath kept me on His side of this Cause, and honoured me to be a publick witness for Him and His blessed Truth, and Cause; for which I shall praise Him in the World to come, whither I now go: yea I will praise Him on the borders of Death and Eternity. To His blessed Name, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost be praise for now and ever. So saith your dying friend for Christ.

John Wilson.

A true Relation of the Sufferings
and Death of
Mr H E W M c K A I L
Preacher of the Gospel.

MR *Hew Mc Kail* having passed, and improven the vertuous means of his Education (at the University of *Edinburgh*, and with his Uncle *Mr Hew Mc Kail*, Minister there, in whose family he did reside) to the satisfaction and good hope of all, in the Winter 1661. upon the very turne of this sad Catastrophe, offers himself to Fryall (being 20 years old) before the Presbytery of *Edinburgh*, in order to the work of the Ministry; and being by them amply approven and licensed, and having preached at several times with the great benefit & applause of all his hearers, he did preach his last publick Sermon in *Edinburgh*, in the *Great Church* thereof, upon the Sabbath immediatly preceeding that of *September 1662.* the day affixed by the then Parliament, for the removal of the Ministers of *Edinburgh*. His text was *Song 1. 7.* In this Sermon taking occa-

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tion to speak of the great and many persecutions ; to which the Church of God hath been and is obnoxious ; and amplifying the Point from the Persons and Powers who have been instrumental therein , he said , *that the Church and People of God had been persecuted , both by a Pharaoh upon the Throne , a Haman in the State , and a Judas in the Church ;* and falling to inlarge the several wayes and manner of the Persecutions of these men , and the issue thereof ; the cases of *Haman* and *Judas* appeared in the conviction of his Adversaries , to have such a near resemblance to the state and condition of the then Rulers of State and Church , that though he did make no Application , yet he was reputed to be guilty thereof.

Whereupon , within a few dayes thereafter , there was a Party of Horsemen sent to the Place where he then lived near to *Edinburgh* , for to seize his Person and make him Prisoner. But upon almost no more than a moments advertisement , he escapes out of his bed , and shifting only to another chamber , was miraculously preserved from the Search then used , though most diligent and accurate. For this cause he being necessitated to leave that Place , retired home-ward to his Fathers house , where having lurked a while , and thereafter as occasions call'd him spent the four years that have since interveen'd , in several places and with much uncertainty. Yet during all this space , to the certain knowledge and sweet remembrance of all that conversed with him , he was most seriously exercised in the Study of Piety & true Knowledge , wherein as he greatly advanced above all his equals , so at length he became most eminent and exemplary.

While he is thus living and employed at his Fathers house , the late Troubles arising in the *West* fall out ; and the newes thereof having alarmed him with the rest of that Countrey , upon the 18. of Nov. last , being the Sabbath , for such motives and upon such considerations , as

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he himself doth fully afterward declare, he joined himself to those who rose in these parts for the assisting of that poor afflicted Party, as in their consciences, by their covenant, they thought themselves indispensably obliged.

When and where he joined with them, or what was his part, or endeavours amongst them, needs not to be remembred. Only this is certain, that being of a thin body, and tender constitution, he was so disabled and weakened with the toil and fatigue of continual marching and tempestuous weather (particularly at *Air*, where he lay a considerable time, as if he had been dead, by reason of fainting) that he could no longer endure it. Whereupon, on *Tuesday November 27.* he was necessitated to part from them in the morning, near to the New Bridge upon *Cramond* water: And in his way towards *Libberton* Parish, about twelve of the clock passing through *Bread's Craigs*, he was taken, without resistance, having only a small ordinary sword, by such of the Countrey men, as were then sent out to view the fields; in which passage it is very observable, that his escape formerly mentioned was not more miraculous, than his present taking was fatal: for it is without question, had he but retained and observed the least of that advertency and caution, wherein at other times he was known to be both ready and very happy, he might, without either hazard or trouble, have escaped this inconvenience; but God who gave him the full experience of his turning all things unto the good of them that love Him, did thus by his simplicity and folly, prepare the way for His own Glory and His servants joy and Victory.

Being brought to *Edinburgh*, and first to the Towns Council-house, in their search for letters he was immediately stript; and there being none found, committed prisoner to the Tolbooth.

Upon the *Wednesday*, being the 28. of *November* by order from the Secret Council, he was brought before the

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Earle of Dumfries, Lord Sinclair, Sir Robert Murray of Prestfield and others, in order to his Examination, and being interrogate concerning his joyning and being with the West land forces, he conceiving himself not obliged by Law or Reason, to be his own Accuser, to the destruction of his life, did plainly deny the question; but being desired to signe with his hand, what he had said and they caused write, though at first he appeared willing, yet partly being advised by the Lord Sinclair, to beware that he subscribed nothing, whereof the contrary would be found true, lest it might therefore fare the worse with him, and partly scrupling at the terms of *Rebells* and *Rebellion*, wherein the question and his Answer were concerned, & partly bethinking that a simple denyall may import more than the pleading of *Not guilty*, he refused to subscribe his name, which being reported to the Council gave great offence, and brought him under the suspicion of a deep dissembler.

On Thursday Novemb. 29. being again called before his Examinators, upon the considerations mentioned, and for allaying the Councils prejudice, and preventing the inconvenience he might therethrough sustain, he gives in a Declaration under his own hand, testifying, that he had been with the *Westland Forces*, with whom he occasionally met, and that he resolved to have withdrawn from them upon the first opportunity, which he was also about to do when he was taken, without either offering to flee or resist, which he desired the Council the rather to believe, because he had told so much to *William Lawry* of *Blackwood*, a person imployed from the *Lieut. Generall Dalzell* to the *Westland Forces*. But notwithstanding that *William Lawry* did testify this to be a truth, yet the Council retaining former impressions, and apprehending that the presence and confronting of some other Prisoners of the *Westland Forces* (who plainly declared their accession to that Rising) and their deponing concerning him,

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him, did only move *Mr Hew* to this acknowledgement, although it be certainly known, that he had formed and subscribed the same the night before, they fortify and persist in their jealousy, and suspecting him to have been a contriver of the Insurrection, and privy to all Designs & Intelligence relating to it, they dealt with him with great importunity to be ingenuous, and to declare who were the Ring leaders of the late Rising, and what correspondence either at home or abroad was kept a-ment it: And this was done especially upon the *Monday Decemb. 3.* at which time also the *Boots* (a terrible instrument of Torture, which the humanity of our latter times hath so much abhorred, that not only the fashion of them was forgot, but all Torture for their cause, dis-tilled; yet new ones such as they are) were laid before him, upon the Town Council House table, and he certified, that if he would not confess, he should be tortured by them to morrow. And accordingly upon *Tuesday Dec. 4.* he was again called before the Council, where, after the examination & torture of *John Neison of Corsack* he was Examined by the *Earle of Rothess* the Kings Commissioner, the *Marques of Montrose*, and several of the Privy Council, (in the Town Council House) the Bishop of *St Andrews* for the honour of his profession forsooth, and some others of the Counsellors upon more real and Christian motives, having at first withdrawn themselves: And being urged to confess, he declared, with a solemn Attestation, that he knew no more, than he had already confessed, whereupon they ordered the *Executioner* to put his leg into the *Boot* and to proceed to the Torture. But as he had before confessed and declared ingenuously all he knew, so this Torture (though in it self very violent and painful, by the extraordinary compression both of flesh, sinews and bones, by the force of timber wedges and hammer, and used upon him in a double measure, even to ten or

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eleven stroakes, with considerable intervals; as there remained no truth concealed which it could not extort; did not in the least move him to express any impatience or bitterness, but having sustained it most constantly & Christianly. before he got the last three stroakes, he protested solemnly in the sight of God, that he could say no more, though all the joints of his body were in as great torture as that poor leg, and desires to know what could hinder them to believe one of his Profession, who had so solemnly declared as in the sight of God, that he knew no more than he had told, viz. that to the best of his knowledge, the Rising in the *West* was merely occasional, upon a discontent betwixt the people in the *Stewarty* of *Galloway* and *Sir James Turner*, to which every one did run, as their hearts moved them when they heard of it.

This Torture was the cause why we was not indicted with the first ten, who being arraigned and sentenced on *Wednesday*, Dec. 5. were hanged on the *Fryday* thereafter, at the Cross of *Edinburgh*. Many thought that considering his small accession unto that Rising, which neither was nor could be proven to be more, than what he himself had freely confessed, and that he had suffered such hard measure by Torture, and that not in order to the discovery of his own crime, but the declaring of the contrivers and his complices, that the same should have procured him favour, but the matter was otherwise determined. Neither was the Sermon before mentioned, so quite forgotten, though ill remembered, and often repeated in Council in these words *Achab upon the Throne*, and no more, and therefore.

Upon *Monday* the 10. of *Dec.* he and other seven received their Inditements of Treason, and were accordingly summoned to appear before the *Iustices* on *Wednesday* Dec. 12. But his Torture & close Imprisonment thereafter (for so it was ordered) having calt him in a

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Fever; whereby he was utterly disenabled to make his appearance,

Upon Tuesday Dec. 11. he gave in to the Lords of Council his Supplication of the Tenor following viz. *that whereas I have received an Inditement of Treason, which was yesterday delivered to me, and I appointed to make answer thereto to morrow, and seeing in this matter of the highest importance, not only all the time allowed is very short, but I am and have been ever since my Torture in a great distemper and Fever; besides the great pain and utter inability of my leg, which hath constantly kept me bedfast, and doth render me incapable not only of minding my own Defence, but wholly unable either to walk or stand, far less to go and compear before the Lord Justice, as I doubt not but Physicians will testify, if your Lo: Will order them to visit me, which I humbly beg; And seeing my accession to the Crimes libelled is so very slender, being only simple Presence, and that not only occasional, as I did declare before Your Lo: But also in some sort retracted and and purged, by my purposed and actual off coming and deserting; and lastly, seeing I was put to sore Torture, in order to a further discovery, with a promise of favour, in case of my Ingenuity, which I then singly used, as in the sight of God, to the utmost of my knowledge: May it therefore please Your Lordships, graciously to consider the Premises, especially my utter inability to make my appearance, and to surcease any legal procedour against me in this so weak & extream condition, and to discharge me of the foresaid Citation and Appearance. And your Lo: answer.*

This Petition and the following are therefore set down *verbatim*; that both the utmost of his condescendence may appear, and the fainting that he so much regrets in his last Speech, be the better understood. And with the same subscribed by him, there was given in an Attestation under the hands of seven Chirurgeons, declaring his weak and sickly condition.

Hereupon the Council did order two Physicians. and
two

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two Chirurgeons (*viz.* Sir Robert Cunningham, Doctor Hay, James Borthwick, and Thomas Kinhead,) to visit him, and to return their Attestation upon soul and conscience, betwixt and the morrow at ten of the Clock, to the Iustices.

Upon Wednesday Decemb. 12. the Iustices being set, the Attestation of the two Doctors and Chirurgeons above mentioned, is produced for Mr Hew McKail, and other three of the Prisoners indied, and their excuse proponed thereupon. But the Iustice finding, that the Attestation, not bearing soul and conscience, did not agree to the Warrant and Order given by the Council, and that the Physicians being called, did refuse upon point of Priviledge to rectify it in these terms, although they declared, that the truth thereof was such, as they might safely confirm it by Oath, they do only supersede their procedour against M. Hew, and other two contained in the Attestation, until to morrow, and ordain John Neilson of Corsack, though also contained in the Attestation, in respect the same as to his part, was not relevant, and the other four, to be brought to the Bar, who accordingly being brought, were that day sentenced to be hanged on Friday thereafter.

Thursday December 13. the Iustice Court being set adjourns until Tuesday thereafter, and ordains Mr Hew and the other two to be peremptorily sifted that day before the down sitting of the Court. This afternoon, having obtain'd his Reprival, in the thoughts of his dubious condition, he composed the lines following.

Vitæ ergo innumeris curarum erroribus acta,

Clausula consimilis perbreve finit iter.

Distrahor ambigui dubio discrimine fati :

Aeger enim jaceo; fin revalesco, cado.

Saturday Dec. 8. his Brother M. Matthew goes from Edinburgh to Glasgow, with a Letter from the Lady Mar-

quis

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que's of Dowglas, and another from the Duchess of Hamilton to the Lord Commissioner in his favours, but both proved ineffectual.

Likeas his Cousin *M. Matthew Mc Kail* carried another Letter from the Lady Marquess of Dowglas to the Archbishop of St Andrews for the same purpose, but with no better success.

Dec. 18. Sitting in Judgment, the Lord Renton Justice Clerk, and Mr William Murray (*Advocat Justice*) Depute.

M. Hew being indifferently recovered, he was brought before the Justice with other 3. that were arraigned with him. And first, the general Inditement is read, founded both on old and late Acts of Parliaments, made against Rising and Assembling in Arms, and entering into Leagues and Covenants, and renewing the Solemn League and Covenant, without or against the Kings Authority, declaring the same to be Rebellion and Treason; and thereafter amply subsuming upon all the Acts, Deeds and Passages of the late Insurrection with many aggravations; particularly upon their taking and renewing the Solemn League and Covenant at *Lanrik*; And therefore charging them with, and concluding, that they ought to be punished for the same as Traitors. After which *Mr Hew* his special Inditement is read, bearing, that he had risen and joyned with the *Rebels*, and was with them at *Air*, *Vchiltry* and *Lanrik*, and several other places on horsback, and had kept and was at several of their Rendevouz's with a Sword. Whereunto *Mr Hew* being permitted to answer, began his discourse very constantly and composedly, declaring, that he looked upon himself both from the conclusion of his Inditement, and what had happened to others, as a man appointed by men, and determined in himself to die, whereupon he thought himself obliged to use the greater ingenuity, and then affirmed, that he was not
ashamed

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ashamed to avow that he was one of that afflicted and persecuted party and persuasion called *Presbyterian*. Thereafter he proceeded to speak of the Ties & Engagements that were upon the Land to God, in order thereto, and having commended the Institution, Dignity and Blessing of *Presbyterial Government*, he said that the last words of the *National Covenant* had alwayes great weight upon his spirit. Whereupon the Kings *Advocate*, interrupting him, desired him to forbear that discourse, telling him that he was not there called in question for his persuasion, but for the crime of Rebellion, in rising in Arms against his Ma: Authority, to which he desired him to answer; whereunto he answered, that the thing which moved him to declare himself as he had, and would have done, was that weighty and important saying of our Lord Iesus, *Whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall the Son of Man also confess before the Angels of God; but he that denieth me and my words before men, shall be denied before the Angels of God.* As for the Rebellion he was charged with, he said, his Accession was only simple presence with a Sword, and that occasional, as his confession before the Council did bear. The *Advocate* answers, that not only presence, such as he was charged with, was treasonable, but all intercommuning or keeping company with *Rebels*, though for the space only of half an hour; and however, he said, he was guilty of a far deeper accession, and of many other things besides these contained in his own confession; whereupon the *Advocate* caused read his Confession, and also the depositions of several others that were examined, in so far as they concerned him. M. Hew answered, that all the depositions read, contained no more than was in his own Confession, nor could they make out any more against him; and so in effect it was

The *Advocate* after the sustaining of the Indirement, having made use of, and caused read the confession of M.

Hew

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Henry and the other persons accused before the *Affize*, in place of Probation, referred the matter to their Cognition.

The *Affize* being enlosed gave their Verdict *una voce*, and by the mouth of Sir William Murray of Newtown their Chancellor, report him to be guilty of being with the Rebels at several times and places, and at their Rendezvous with a Sword, according to his subscribed confession. However it was thereafter understood, that four or five of the *Affize*, did with reluctancy pronounce this Verdict, thinking death too great a punishment for so slender a Guilt, and that the major part of the *Affize* had cleansed him, if the fear of an *Affize* of Error had not prevailed with them.

The Verdict being reported, Doom was pronounced, decerning and adjudging him, and the rest to be taken on Saturday Decemb. 22. to the Mercate Cross of Edinburgh, and there to be hanged on a Gibbet till they be dead, and that their Goods and Lands be escheated and forfeited for his Highness's use. At the hearing of which sentence, he cheerfully said, *The Lord giveth life, and the Lord taketh, blessed be the Name of the Lord.* And as he was carried back through the Guards to the Tolbooth, when the People made lamentation, he answered, *Though men cut us off, God will receive us, trust in God, trust in God.*

Being come to his Chamber he immediately addressed himself to God by prayer, with great enlargement of heart for himself and his fellow prisoners condemned with him. Being afterwards asked, how his leg was, which was tortured; he answered merrily, *the fear of my Neck now maketh me forget my Leg.* Thereafter he said to another friend, *O how good Newes, to be within four dayes journey to enjoy the sight of Jesus Christ, and protested he was not so cumbered how to die, as he had been sometime to preach a Sermon.* To some women lamenting for him, he said, *that his condition, though he was young, and in the budding of his hopes and labours*

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labours in the Ministry; yet it was not to be mourned for; he said he one drop of my blood, through the Grace of God, may make more hearts contrite, than many years sermons might have done.

This afternoon he supplicated the Council for liberty to his Father to come and visit him, which being granted, his Father the next night came to him. Their first meeting was very sad; and notwithstanding, that according both to the testimony of his Parents, and knowledge of all his relations, he was a most obedient Son; yet these inevitable infirmities which are incident to the best of men, and cannot but furnish sad convictions, when considered in the power and pure light of the spiritual Law of God, did greatly trouble him in the remembrance of the fifth commandment. The passage was thus. After prayer his Father said unto him, *Hugo, I called thee a good olive tree of fair fruits, & now a storm hath destroyed the tree and his fruits and branches.* He answered, *that his Fathers too good thoughts of him had afflicted him.* His Father said, he was persuaded, God was visiting not his own sin, but his parents sin upon him, so that he might say, *Our Fathers have sinned, and we have born their iniquity.* He said also, *I have sinned; thou poor sheep what hast thou done?* M. Hew answered with many groans, that through coming short of keeping the fifth commandment; he had come short of the promise, that his days should be prolonged in the Land of the living, & that Gods controversy with him, was for overvaluing his children, especially himself.

On Thursday the 20. of December more from the importunity of Friends, than of his own inclination, he gave in to the Privy Council, a Petition, as follows.

That whereat upon Tuesday last I was indicted and condemned, for the unreasonable deeds contained in the general and special Indictment exhibited against me; in the which special Indictment, containing my whole accession to the said Crimes

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there is only libelled presence in several places, with an ordinary sword, like as my own confession, which is the naked truth, doth declare, how the same was occasional; And seeing that it was also in some sort purged and retracted, by my withdrawing and deserting with the first convenience, whereby not only my case appears to be different from that of others, but also as favourable as possibly can be, next to innocency it self; like as the same appeared no less to many of these Gentlemen, who were upon my Assize. And seeing the Torture I sustained, and the ingenuity I then used, as in the sight of God, to the utmost of my knowledge, deserve that favour that was at that time insinuated; And that it is expected that his Majesty (whose mercy I beg) according to his great clemency, and the most usual practice in the like cases, will interpose his mercy, for the rescue of many, who are equally with me involved. May it therefore please your Lordships graciously to consider the premisses, and to pardon my great rashness and precipitancy, and therefore to indulge such a reprimand as your Lo. shall think convenient, until his Majesty's gracious pleasure about the premisses shall be fully known; At least till the Commissioner his Grace, do return; And your Lo. answer. The words marked in this petition by a different character, were the amendments of his Friends affection, which they were advised to put in, by some members of the Privy Council, to whom the copy of it had been presented immediately before the downsitting of the Council; and thereupon the Petition being transcribed, was in so great haste presented unto him, to rescribe it, that he got it not read. However the Petition was both disrelished and refused by the Council; The truth is, some of his Friends exceeding zealous of his safety, had moved to several members of the Council, that the Declaration might be tendered to him, and some time permitted him to advise thereanent; which motion it's like, was attended with some insinuations, that probably he might be induced to subscribe it; but as the motion was ineffectual without a

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warrant under his own hand, so even the Authors thereof do bear him witness of his positive, fixed and often declared resolution, not to subscribe it at the highest rate: Likeas, upon some surmises to the contrary, he thought it necessary for his own vindication, to leave it under his hand, that the above-mentioned resolution was from his own proper knowledge and motive, without the assistance of the least dissuasive from any other person.

During his abode in Prison, the Lord was very graciously present with him, both to sustain him against the fear of death, and to dispel all these over-cloudings of terror, unto which the frailty of flesh and blood hath sometime exposed the best of men; and also in assisting him in prayer and praises, to the admiration of all his hearers, especially on the Thursday's night Dec. 20. whereon being set at supper with his fellow-prisoners and his Father, and one or two besides, he requested his fellow-prisoners, saying merrily, *eat to the full, and cherish your bodies, that we may be a fat Chrismas's Pie to the Prelate.* After supper in thanksgiving, he burst forth in blessing God, that had made him such a fool as to come to this prison; and after many gracious words, continued saying, *many crosses have come in our way and wrought but weakly upon us; but here is a cross that hath done more good than all the many that befell us before.* Then lamenting the condition of the Church of God, with much earnestness, he used this exclamation in the last of Daniel, *What Lord shall be the end of these wonders!*

The last night of his life, being Friday Decemb. 21. he proposed and answered himself, several questions, to the strengthening of his fellow-prisoners, and refreshing of all his hearers. As 1. he enquired; *How should I be, going from the Tolbooth through a multitude of gazing People and guards of Souldiers, to a Scaffold and Gibbet, overcome the impression of all these? To which*

he answered; By conceiving a deeper impression of a multitude of Angels, who are also onlookers; According to that, we are a gazing-stock to the World, Angels and Men: For the Angels rejoycing at our good confession are present to convey and carry our souls as the soul of Lazarus, unto Abraham's bosom; Not to receive them, for that is Jesus Christ's work alone, who will welcome them to Heaven Himself, with the songs of Angels and blessed Spirits; But the Angels are ministering Spirits, alwayes ready to serve and strengthen all dying believers. 2. As Stephen saw the Heavens opened, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God, Who then said, Lord Jesus, receive my Spirit, so (said he) do I believe, that Jesus Christ is also ready to receive the souls of his dying sufferers.

2. He enquired, What is the way for us to conceive of Heaven who are hasting unto it, seeing the Word saith, Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him? Whereunto he answered, that the Scripture helps us two wayes to conceive of heaven. The first is by way of similitudes, as in that Rev. 21. where heaven is held forth, by the representation of a glorious City, there described; but in the same place it is also termed the Bride; but O how unlike are these two, a Bride and a City! which doth clearly evidence the insufficiency and vast disproportion of all such similitudes; and therefore he addeth, the Scripture furnisheth yet a more excellent way to conceive of heaven; and that is 1. by conceiving the love of Christ to us, even what is the breadth and length and depth and height and the immenseness of that love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, which is also the highest and sweetest motive of praise unto him, that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us Kings and Priests unto God and his Father, to him be glory and dominion for ever and ever, Amen. 2. By holding forth the love of the Saints to Jesus Christ, and teaching us to love him

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in sincerity, which is the very joy and exultation of heaven, Rev. 5: 12. Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing. And no other thing than the soul breathing forth love to Jesus Christ can rightly apprehend the joyes of heaven.

The last words which he spoke at supper, were in the commendation of Love above knowledge, saying, *O but notions of Knowledge without Love, are of small worth, vanishing in nothing, and very dangerous. After supper, his father having given thanks, he read the 16. Psalm, and his first words thereafter were, If there were any thing in the World sadly and unwillingly to be left, it were the reading of the Scriptures. I said I shall not see the Lord, even the Lord in the land of the living, but this needs not make us sad; for where we go, the Lamb is the book of Scripture, and the light of that City, and there is life, even the river of the water of life, and living springs. To this he added many excellent observations, and making mention of the 23. v. of the 31. Psal. O love the Lord, all ye his saints, he added, that where love was, it was so operative, that it made flesh, spirit; and where it was not, there spirit was made flesh: Thereafter he sung a part of the same Psalm.*

Supper being ended, he cald smilingly for a pen, saying, *it was to write his Testament, wherein he only ordered some few books, which he had to be redelivered to several persons.*

He went to bed a little after eleven of the clock, and having slept well till 5. in the morning, he arose and called to his Camerader *John Wodrow*, saying pleasantly, *up John; for you are too long in bed; you and I look not like men going this day to be hanged: seeing we ly so long. Thereafter he said to him in the words of Isaiah ch. 42. v. 24. Who gave Jacob for a spoil, and Israel to the robbers? Did not the Lord? He against whom we have* sin;

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sinned, for they would not walk in his wayes, neither were they obedient unto His Law, &c. and I think, John, (said he) I have not known it, nor do I lay it to heart; as it is said in the end of the 25. ver. But, John (saith he) for all this be not affraid, but read the ch 43. v. 1. 2. for all will go well with us. John said to him, you and I will be chambered shortly in heaven, beside Mr Robertson. He answered, I fear, John, you bar me out, because you was more free before the Council than I was; but I shall be as free as any of you upon the Scaffold. Before breakfast, he said, he had got a clear ray of the Majesty of the Lord after his awaking, but it was a little again overclouded. Thereafter he prayed, and attested the Lord, that he had devoted himself to the service of God in the Ministry of the Lord Iesus, and the edification of souls, very early; adding, albeit I have not been so with my God, yet thou hast made with me an Everlasting Covenant, ordered in all things and sure; this is all my desire, joy and salvation, albeit thou make me not a house to grow. Now Lord, we come to thy throne, a place we have not been acquainted with; earthly Kings thrones have Advocats against poor men, but thy Throne hath Iesus, an Advocate for us. Our supplication this day, is not to be free of death, nor of pain in death, but that we may witness before many witnesses, a good confession.

His Father coming to him that morning to bid him farewell, his last words to him were, after prayer and a little discourse, that his suffering would do more hurt to the Prelates, and be more edifying to Gods people than if he were to continue in the Ministry, for twenty years. And that he desired his Father to leave him, else he would but trouble him, and I desire it of you, said he, As the best and last service you can do me, to go to your chamber, and pray earnestly to the Lord to be with me on that Scaffold: for how to carry there is my care, even that I may be strengthened to endure to the end.

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About two of the clock in the Afternoon, he was carried to the Scaffold with other five that suffered with him; where he appeared to the conviction of all that formerly knew him, with a fairer, better and more stayed countenance, than ever they had before observed. Being come to the foot of the Ladder, he directed his speech Northward to the multitude. And, premising, *That as his Years in the World had been but few, so his words at that time should not be many.* He spoke to the People, the speech and Testimony which he had before written and subscribed.

Having done speaking to the People, who heard him with great attention, he sung a part of the 31. Psal. and then prayed with such power and fervency, as forced many to weep bitterly. Having ended he gives his cloak and hat from him; And when he turned himself and took hold of the Ladder to go up, he said with an audible voice, *I care no more to go up this Ladder and over it, than if I were going home to my Fathers house;* And as he went up, hearing a great noise amongst the People, he called down to his fellow sufferers, saying, *Friends and Fellow sufferers, be not affraid, every step of this Ladder is a degree nearer Heaven.* Then having seated himself thereon he said, *I do partly believe, that the Nobles; Counsellors, and Rulers of the Land, would have used some mitigation of this punishment, had they not been infligated by the Prelates, so our blood lyes principally at the Prelats door. But this is my comfort now, that I know my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the Earth, and though after my skin, worms destroy this Body, yet in my flesh shall I see God, whom I shall see for my self and mine Eyes shall behold (pointing to his eyes) and not another, though my reins be consumed in me. And now I do willingly lay down my life for the Truth and Cause of God, the Covenants and Work of Reformation, which were once counted the Glory of this Nation. And it is for endeavouring*

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to defend this, and to extirpate that bitter root of Prelacy, that I embrace this rope (the Executioner putting the rope about his neck.) Then hearing the People weep, he said, Your work is not to weep, but to pray that we may be honourably torn through; and blessed be the Lord, that supports me. Now as I have been beholden to the prayers and kindness of many since my imprisonment and sentence; So I hope you will not be wanting to me now, in this last step of my journey, that I may witness a good Confession: And that you may know the ground of my encouragement in this Work, and what my hope is, I will read to you the last Chapter of the Bible; And having read it, he said, Here you see the Glory that is to be revealed upon me, a pure river of water of life, and so forth (read the place) where this Throne of God is, and the Lamb is in it, where his Servants serve Him and see His face, and his Name is in their foreheads, and the Lord God giveth them light, and they shall reign for ever and ever; and here you see my access to my Glory and reward. Let him that is a thirst come, and whosoever will let him take of the water of life freely. And here you see also my welcome, the Spirit and the Bride say, Come. Then he said I have one word more to say to my Friends (looking down to the Scaffold) where are you? You need neither lament me, nor be ashamed of me in this condition, for I may make use of that expression of Christ, I go to your Father, & my Father to your God and my God, to your King & my King, to the blessed Apostles & Martyrs, and to the City of the Living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, to an innumerable company of Angels, to the General Assembly and Church of the Firstborn, and to God the judge of all, and to the Spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new Covenant; And so I bid you all farewell: For God will be more comfortable to you than I could be; And he will also now be more refreshing to me, than you can be: farewell, farewell in the Lord. Then the Napkin being put on his face, he prayed a space within himself, after which he put up the cloth from his face, with his own

X 4

hands,

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hand, and said, he had one word more to say, and that was to shew them the comfort he had in his Death, saying, I hope you perceived no alteration or discouragement in my countenance and carriage, and as it may be your wonder, so I profess it is a wonder to my self, and I will tell you the reason of it: Consider the justness of my Cause, this is my comfort, which was said of Lazarus when he dyed, that the Angels did carry his soul into Abrahams Bosom; so, that as there is a great solemnity here of a confluence of People, a Scaffold, a Gallows, and People looking out at windows; so is there a greater & more solemn preparation in Heaven, of Angels to carry my soul to Christs bosom. Again, this is my comfort, that it is to come in Christs hands, and He will present it blameless and faultless to the Father, and then shall I be ever with the Lord. And now I leave off to speak any more to creatures, and turn my speech to thee, O Lord! and now I begin my intercourse with God, which shall never be broken off Farewel Father and Mother, Friends and Relations; Farewell the World and all Delights, Farewel meat and drink, Farewell Sun, Moon and Stars, Welcome God and Father, Welcome sweet Lord Jesus, the Mediator of the new Covenant, Welcome blessed Spirit of Grace and God of all consolation, Welcome Glory, Welcome Eternal Life, Welcome Death. Then he desired the Executioner not to turn him over, untill he should put over his own shoulders himself, which, after praying a little within himself, he did, saying, O Lord! into thy hands I commit my Spirit: For thou hast redeemed my Soul, Lord God of truth. Thus in the 26. Year of his age, he died, as he lived, in the Lord.

F I N I S.

Some Instances of the Sufferings of *Galloway and Nithisdale.*

Because in the former *Deduction*, mention is made of a Paper containing some of the Sufferings of *Galloway* and *Nithisdale*, it is not inconvenient, for more Particular Information, to subjoyn a few instances of the same Paper.

And first, at three several inroads which the Soldiers have made into that Countrey, in the Years 1663, 1665. and 1666 they exacted from the People there, for adhering to their old faithful Ministers, and not submitting to the Ministry of those, whom the *Prelates* violently obtruded upon them, the Summes of Money underwritten, viz.

Lib. S. d

From 49. Families in the Parish of <i>Garsphairn</i> ,	4864-17-0
From 43 Families in the Parish of <i>Dalry</i> ,	9577-16-8
From 49 Families in <i>Balmaclelland</i> ,	6430-10-0
From 9 Families in <i>Balmacghie</i> ,	425-11-8
From 2 or 3 Families in <i>Tungland</i> ,	166-12-0
From some poor Persons in <i>Tuynham</i> ,	81-4-0
From 20 Families in <i>Borg</i> ,	2026-17-4
From 9 poor Families in <i>Girton</i> ,	525-10-4
From some poor Families in <i>Anwith</i> ,	733-6-4
From 34 inconsiderable Families in <i>Kirkpatrick</i> <i>Durham</i> ,	2235-16-0
From some few Fam. in <i>Kirkmabrek</i> ,	563-6-0
From 3 Families in <i>Monygaff</i> ,	600-0-0
From 18 Families in <i>Kircudbright</i> ,	2580-0-0
X 5	From

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From 37 poor Families in <i>Lechrutton</i> ,	
notwithstanding they wanted a	
Curate ,	2080-0-0
From 12 poor Families in <i>Traquair</i> ,	756-10-0
From <i>Kells</i> Parish,	466-13-4
From <i>Corsemickal</i> Parish ,	1666-13-4
From 24 Families in <i>Parton</i> Parish ,	2838- 9-4
From 42 Families in <i>Irongray</i> ,	3362-18-8
Summa	41282-12-0

In the Sherifdom of *Nithisdale* or Dumfreis Shire.

From 51 Families in the Town and Parish of	
<i>Dumfreis</i> ,	4617-15-4
From 20 poor Families id <i>Kirkmahoe</i> ,	1341- 6-0
From 14 Families in <i>Dunseoir</i> ,	1411-13-4
In <i>Glencairn</i> Parish ,	2146-14-8
Summa of <i>Nithisdale</i>	9517-9-10
Tuma totalis	51500-2-10

And although these Sums (being Scots money) may seem smal to strangers, yet considering that they are not levyed proportionally from all the People, but some select persons within these bounds, and that there are 19 or 20 Parishes of which there is no account at all, and that the great expence of free quarter by the souldiers, in most of the Parishes abovenamed (which would amount to a great sum) is not included, and that several persons have not as yet payed, but are to pay their Fines and Cess; and that several of the poor people, through fear, at divers times have given bribes in money and other things to Officers & Souldiours, which

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keeping them free of Cels and Quartering (notwithstanding whereof they were little or nothing the better) and that the Parliament before, arbitrarily, and for no alleadged crime, had exacted by their Act of Fining, from 132 Persons within the said bounds, the sum of 77120 Pounds Scots Money; And that the Cels (besides free Quattering (levyed by the Souldiers, according to the *Commissioner's Orders*, for alleadged Deficiency in Payment of the said Fines, extended to neer as much as the Principal, Considering (I say) all these things, the Summs are very considerable, and much greater than could have been expected in so little bounds, and in a Countrey so poor and mountainous, and less fertil than many others in the Land,

But the exacting of money was not all, but in effect a small part of their oppression: for the carriage of the souldiers in free quartering was very cruel, barbarous and inhumane, as will appear by these general aggravations and particular instances.

Otdinarily in Quartering, they did not content themselves with sufficiency, but set themselves to consume and waste needlessly; sometimes throwing whole sheep to their dogs, and scattering corn, hay and straw, they and their boyes usually saying, *we came to destroy, and we shall destroy you.*

Ordinarily when they had consumed the Landlord, they quartered upon the poor Tennants, and when they had consumed the Tennants, did fall upon the Landlords, although they had conformed; as they did upon a Gentleman in *Kirkmahoe*.

Frequently these who conformed from the beginning, and others who conformed of late, did no less suffer than these who conformed not at all; and some in severall Parishes, who had given all the obedience which was demanded, suffered more than these who gave none at all; yea conforming husbands have been

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Punished by Fine, Cels and quartering for their non-conforming wives.

It is also to be considered, that, besides all that the Countrey had thus suffered, the souldiours were again sent forth through the Countrey, and new Fines, Cels and Quarter were imposed upon the same persons and families who had been fined before; yea, upon some it was doubled and tripled, so that some Yeomen were fined in 500 merks Scots besides their former fines. All which is the more considerable, that, although the Papists in that Countrey were very numerous, few of them were troubled; and these inconsiderable Persons, who were only fined in inconsiderable summs for the fashion.

And particularly in the Parish of *Balmaclelland*, a poor widow with several fatherless children, after she had payed at severall times 320 merks, and suffered the Cels of 3 souldiours 17 dayes, coming to the Command of that Party to complain of some wrongs done unto her, instead of access, she is mercilessly boasted down stairs.

In the same Parish an old deaf man, after he had payed 52 rex-dailers, and then given bond for 350 pounds Scots, was so tossed, what by being brought before the *High Commission*, and what by rude usage at home, that he contracted sickness and dyed; and thereafter a poor widow, having payed 120 pounds, was quartered upon many dayes, until she was forced to leave her house, and through cold and double grief contracted a deadly sickness.

In the same Parish a poor man, having been quartered upon and Payed 120 pounds Scots, was himself cast into prison, while 8 souldiers quartered upon him at home. In the same Parish, a Gentleman, who did ordinarily come to Church, was quartered upon by six souldiers, notwithstanding that himself, his Lady and most part of his family were sick.

In the same Parish a poor man being quartered upon 38 daves, and having payed 48 pounds, and given bond for 150 pounds, though as is informed, he hath not so much as a free Cow, when he came to complain, he was beaten by the Officer, and returning, was again beaten by the Souldiours. In the same Parish, a poor bed-rid man with his sick wife were necessitated to beg, until he gathered three pounds to give for his Fine or Cess.

In the same Parish a very poor bed-rid creple man was forced to pay 50 merks.

In the same Parish a very old honest man, who being reckoned past 80 years, and unable to work in his trade being a Coupar, and scarce having the worth of a groat of free goods, but the Countreyes charity, was forced to pay 20 pounds.

In the Parish of *Corsemichall*, the souldiours being quartered in a house, having left some broth of mutton, did violently thrust away the hungry children from supping thereof, till first they set their dogs to leap at, and then did bid the children take what the dogs had left.

In the Parish of *Parion*, the souldiours, horse & foot, after they had quartered 15 weeks in a Gentleman's house, till they had eaten up the Provision, wherewith he would have maintained his family, having five or six small children, they forced his wife and servants to the doors, after they had been their slaves and servants all that time, & then Possessed themselves absolute masters of his whole houses, plenishing, cattell and what else was his within their reach; and when some good neighbours had received the little ones for shelter, with great difficulty could they obtain one milk Cow of twelve be-
longing to their Father, for supply of the children. No-
me. This Gentleman seems to be utterly broken, and has
comen severall times imprisoned and miserably tossed up
and down.

In

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In the Parish or *Borg*, in a Gentlemans house, the souldiours did quarter for 15 weeks, till they consumed the whole provision of the Family, which was well furnished with meal and malt and other necessaries; they also destroyed the whole, denishing (except one table which they left in case they came again) even to the pulling down of the Partition-wall of the main dwelling house, and pulling down of an Office-house without the gate: All this destruction they committed by giving and selling one part within the Countrey, and sending another part to *Glasgow*, and breaking and burning the rest of it, of purpose that it might be useless for the owner, who was forced to flee before, and betake himself to wandering with his brother and their families. And after they had committed all this vastation, they also fell upon their Tennants, and forced them to bring in malt, sheep, fowls, and other things (for their maintenance) that they pleased to call for, and so ruined them also; And two of his Tennants they forced to scatter their families, having threatened to burn their houses, besides all the destruction they had done to their Master and them before.

In the Parish of *Irongray*, a poor Tennant having bargained with the Souldiours, to redeem his goods for 36 pounds, when he came to *Dumfries*, they would hardly take 50 pounds, so that he was forced to borrow the *over-plus*, and being returned home to shear his corns, expecting no more trouble from them, they came back upon him, and took away his beasts and all, even to the leading away his hay. The like was practised upon another in the same Parish.

And further, some Maintenance imposed in the year 1648, being alleaged unpaid by severall Gentlemen and others within the Sherifdom of *Nithisdale*, letters of horning were raised by the Collectors; which letters and executions thereof were suspended, because the

same was already payed, and yet notwithstanding, Troopers were sent to Cels and Quarter upon the said persons, till they should make payment, although the suspension was not discussed; and several of them, to be relieved of the heavy burthen of the Cels and quartering, were constrained to make payment thereof, and that by and attour the Cels for the same, which was far above the said maintenance, in so much that a Gentleman, who at first might have payed for 30 pounds, the Party that went to Cels upon him would not agree to remove for less than 200 merks, Yea after an order was procured from the *Commissioner*, for removing the Cels for the said Maintenance, a party of 8 or 9 horsemen, with their boyes and horses, were sent once again to quarter upon some Gentlemen, untill they were forced to make a new address to the *Commissioner* for removal thereof.

By all which, that Countrey was so exhausted of money, that neither poor nor rich could get it to satisfy these mens demands, and the poor people were forced to sell their beasts in the Markets below their worth; in so much that they were forced to sell a Cow for two Nobles or two Crowns, the souldiours in the mean time standing by to receive the same, although the poor men had destitute families at home: Yea many families whose summs are not here reckoned, in probability are totally ruined, and many others scattered, and particularly in *Lochruston* were above 16 families broken, in *Irongray* the most part of the families are broken, beside several that are already put from house keeping, the souldiours having taken away, both there and elsewhere; that which the People should have lived upon; yea several Gentlemen, formerly in good condition, were put from house-keeping, and forced to wander, and be beholden to others for a nights lodging, the souldiers having violently possessed themselves of their barns, cattel and other goods.

Neither

Neither is this all, the wickedness, prophanity and blasphemies of the souldiours, are rather to be abhorred and suppress'd than thought or spoken of, if the notoriety thereof were not universal in these bounds.

In the Parish of *Carphairn*, in an Inn at the Bridge of *Deugh*, on the Sabbathday, some of them being quartered there, they most prophanely and atheistically mocked at all preaching of the Gospel, saying, *let us go preach*, and then read their text out of the *Cherry and the Slae* (an old Scotch Amorous Poem) counterfeiting a form of divine worship, and as it is informed did sing an other part of the same Poem in stead of the Psalms, and used all other mocking modes, as if they had been serious at Gods worship.

In the Parish of *Irongray*, an honest man retiring himself to the fields for secret prayer (having no liberty at home) was followed by the Souldiours, who drew swords upon him threatening to kill him, if they heard him praying any more, saying, Sir, *we have heard you many times howling, if we hear you again &c.*

Another time in that same Parish, the Master of the house was exhorting them to leave off their swearing & prophanity, shewing them the danger and hazard they were in of the condemnation of Hell, some of the souldiours mocking at hell most blasphemously answered. *By my soule ere I go to hell, it shall cost God 24 hours pains ere he get me there.*

In the Town of *Kircudbright*, when one Captain Fin an horseman died, one of his Camerads coming to see him, and finding him dead, came near and rudely gripping the dead man, used this horrid expression, what, devil art thou dead man? And did not tell me before, that I might have sent a letter to hell with thee (to such a camerade of his as he named, who had died lately before) to take up my winter quarters.

In the same Town also, as is informed, some of them

con-

Of Galloway and Nithisdale. 337

conveening at the Cross, and drinking there healths, one of them personating. . . (Who dare express whom) used this blasphemous expression to his Camerads, *Ye are my Angels, and I drink to you all.* But we abhorre to mention any more of this sort: only this is certain, that Atheism and Blasphemy is become so ordinary with them, that some of themselves are forced to regrate it.

In the Parish of *Carssphairn*, some of the foot souldiours did so barbarously and cruelly struggle with a man's wife to have forced her (till she was rescued out of their hands by some women) that she for fear parted with child, and kept her bed half a year, being neer unto death, and little hope of recovery.

Also in a Gentleman's house in the same Parish, where they were quartered, they cruelly beat some of the servants to the effusion of their blood, for all the good service they had done them.

P O S T S C R I P T.

BY these things, which have been done in *Galloway* and *Nithisdale*, as the Reader may compute, what vast sufferings and horrid combinations must be in the whole Land, many places whereof are no less disaffected to Prelacy, when there are so many and gross, in so little bounds and so short time; so he may perceive, what provocation that poor oppressed people had to endeavour their own preservation, and to take hold of any opportunity for vindicating their religious and civil Interests: and what reasons others, either in the same condition with them, or upon the common
Y ground

ground of Non-conformity, being threatened and justly fearing to be shortly reduced thereunto, had, according to their obligation in the Covenant, for mutual defence and assistance in the Covenant, for mutual defence and assistance in the common cause of Religion and Liberty, to joyn with them for their help. Neither should I have adventured to insert these instances if (besides the diligent care that was used in collecting of them, making them credible; the notoriety thereof, whereby they were unquestioned in that part of the Countrey; and many such like things (whereunto all that is mentioned, is but like a preface) committed since Novemb. 1666, especially in the Western parts, rendering them probable, they were not the native product of this Prelatical course, betwixt which and them there is such connexion, as is betwixt the natural cause and the effect, and if the committers thereof had not had command, example and encouragement for many of them from the Prelats, whom they resemble as much as face answereth to face in water. It is true the Prelats should no more bear all the blame, then Sathan (who restraineth none but tempteth to all) should be charged with all the sin of man, and they were and are first and chief in the transgression, who were their Authors and are their upholders and abettors, and in retaliation of their flattery of the Powers and connivance at prophane-ness in all, and in subserviency to their interests

and designe, have perpetrated and permitted so much wickedness and oppression; Yea the Peoples walking willingly after the commandement, will never Excuse those, who by Law, Force and Example make Israel to Sin: yet it is above contradiction, that Prelacy is the chief though not the only Interest, in subserviency to which all these things are done; and the Prelats themselves are a conjunct if not the Principal cause thereof. These men having put off their former vizards, no man needeth further to unmask them. Let these who employed and maintained *Sharp* to agent their cause, and others who promoted him to the Prelacy, declare their own Experience, of his continued *series* of ungrate deceiving and undermining of them and their Interests, under Trust and professions to the contrary, as all men know that he hath Impiously and Perfidiously betrayed the Church and Cause of God: if they will not, Let his own many letters written unto them, be produced, as in reason and for Vindication they should, and they will evince him to be the Archest Traitor that ever *Scotland* bred: And how can it otherwise be? will he who is false to God, be true to any man? If that man escape some stupendious and disgracefull remark by the hand of God or Man, I will not say, that Others need neither fear the One nor regard the other, but sure I am; that many more Experienced in the observation of divine Providence, and foreseeing than I am, are

much mistaken. Let the City of *Glasgow*, and persons of all Qualities, especially in that countrey-side, ingenuously say, whether that fiery Zealot for the height of *English* Hierarchy and Ceremonies, and otherwise insignificant man, *Master Burnet* Prelate there, doth not, in Just recompence of too many their enslaving their own light and conscience, in flattery of him, and complying with that course, most insolently domineer over them as his slaves, with as much Pride, Ambition, and Contempt, as the most absolute Prince doth over his vassals. Let these of the Synod of *Glasgow* remember, with what deep dissimulation *Mr Hamilton* Prelat of *Galloway*, did by Exprels suffrage declare, before the last Synod there, against the same Prelacy, which at that same instant of time, he was clandestinely corresponding with the Rulers to establish. This man of all others, hath been the chief Cause of all the Oppression and persecution in that countrey, and thereby the Occasion of the late rising in Armes, and blood that hath followed thereupon. One instance of *Mr Honeyman* Prelate of *Orkney* I cannot omit, that in the year 1661, when *Mr Sharp* had discovered himself, walking in his own garden, he said to a famous person who can bear witness thereof, (Just as *Balaam* spake truth whether he would or not) That *Mr Sharp* was as false as *Judas*, and I would gladly know, to whom this *Casnist*, who since hath embraced a Bishoprick,

rick, will Compare himself for falshood, except
to him who entered into *Iudas* with the sop. I
need tell no man who knoweth the Persons, of
the brutish Sensuality of *Mr Wallace P.* of the
Isles, who studieth more the filling of his belly
than he was ever fit for feeding of a flock; nor of
the hatred of Godliness & good men in *Mr Guth-*
rey P. of *Dunkel* who while he was Minister at
Sterlin, was an old persecuter of both; nor the
scandalous drinking of *Mr Straughan P.* of
Brechen, let those who visite him in his own house,
declare how liberally he useth to entertain them
with Wine there, upon their own Expence. It is
true indeed, that *Mr Lighton* prelate of *Dumblan*,
under a Jesuitical-like vizard of Pretended Holi-
ness, humility, and crucifixion to the world, hath
studied to seem to creep upon the ground, but al-
wayes up the hill, toward promotion and places of
more ease, honour and Wealth; and as there is none
of them all hath with a Kiss so betrayed the Cause,
and smitten Religion under the fifth rib, and hath
been such an offence to the godly, so there is none
who by his way, practice and Expressions, giveth
greater suspicion of a popish affection, inclination
and design. If these men had not put off their own
vaile, no pencil of the most skilled Artist could have
drawn them to the life but now by shewing of them-
selves, they have saved others a labour, or at least
made it more easy. And therefore I shall rake no
more into this unpleasant dung-hil of the vilest

vices, which they and their Brethren in Iniquity (whom not naming here doth not Except from their part of the charge of Ambition, Pride, Sensuality, Idleness, Covetousness, Oppression, Persecution, Dissimulation, Peijury, Treachery, and Hatred of Godliness and Good men), have heaped together in their own Persons, and transfused to others over all the Land. O the Immense long suffering and unfearcheable Wisedome of God! who, hearing the cry of these things, stirreth not the Zeal of all to Execute his just Judgment upon these men; but it may be, that he is ripening and reserving them for a more God-like stroke, than any would be acknowledged to be, wherein man were Instrumental. Neither are their Mercenaries, whom they hire as Postillions to ride upon the fore-house of all their Wickedness, less skilled, but more foreward that way than their drivers. It were as far above the faith of any, who have not heard and seen, to beleeve, and might render any pen suspected of the want of truth or tenderness, to write the Hundreth part, as it is easy to instance incredibly much, but endless to relate all that is true of the Ignorance, Lightness and Prophanness of these men. When I have told, that several lying in known and acknowledged fornication, without removall of the scandal, have been admitted to the Ministry by the *Prelats* who knew it, and violently obruded by them and the Patrons upon the offended people; That some of them after Admission, have been de-

deprehended lying with women by the way-
side ; that Others have been found guilty of
Actuall fornication , and of unanswerable pre-
sumptions of Adultery with other mens wives ;
and that drunkenness is both open and frequent
amongst many of them , I may well awake the
wonder, the blush and horror of the Reader ; but
I have only begun to shew a part (and indeed a
very small part) of these mens wayes. A Prophet he
may be by way of prognostication but let the world
Judge of what manner Preacher he must be , who,
offending that the people did not come to hear
him, did before the Congregation Imprecate thus
against himself , *God nor I be hanged but I shall
make you all come.* Another refused to pay the
price of a horse before he pleased (which he used
to boast privately would be at Doomsday) because
the seller , at the making of the bargan , in Civility
said , *Pay me when ye please ;* and thereupon , to
the scorn and derision of all , sustained an action
of Law some dayes before a Civill Court. Who
will commerce with such horse-koopers ? but
much less who can acknowledge such men for
Ministers ? These men, being themselves general-
ly without substance and forme of Religion , are
such malicious persecuters of both in Others , that
as I could never hear of one soul turned from Sa-
than to God by their labours (whereof indeed there
are many prophane seals) so they are become
vile in the eyes of all , that are truly godly, or but

morally civil; In so much that this is the only advantage, (and indeed it is an advantage, for if they were more smooth and sober, they might be more insnaring) that they do not wear a rough garment to deceive; and though I cannot say, that their out side is as unclean as their inner-side, yet it is saith as such in every mans heart, that *the fear of God is not before their eyes*. These are the pleasant birds, that are hatched and cherished under the warm wings of Prelacy, of whom though no man can speak the half of the truth to a stranger, without exposing himself to the Censure of partiality, Passion, or being a Reproacher; yet the Universal & incontroverted Notoriety of these things, in places where they reside or converse will absolve the Relater before all men who know them. It is true we do not charge every individual with every particular, yet because they are generally true of Many, and being not ourly known and sometimes represented are not remedded, they are chargeable upon the Course; which being Sinful it self, the Authors and Abettors thereof are participant of the guilt, and liable to the punishment. And indeed the Lord hath already begun his controversy with some of them not only by pouring shame and contempt upon them (particularly upon Traiterous *Sharp*) and drying up the Right eye, and blasting the gifts which several seemed to have (whether by their own negligence, which every man observeth, or Immediat judgment, or both, I do not deter-

determine, but also by visible cursing of their substance, diverse of them being necessitated through poverty to sell their tithes at half worth, long before they are payable, and others of them to remove leaving more debt behind, than they are able to discharge. Neither have these men thus prophaned the sanctuary only, and by the sins of the Sons of *Ely* made all men to abhorre the offering of the Lord; but from them are issued forth, such overflowing streames of wickedness over all the Land, that, besides all that is mentioned, there are other inconceivable and inexpressible Atheistical abominations said to be committed by men, which, as it is a Wonder the Devil himself should dare to act, so for fear of the great and dreadful God, & of offending the ears of others, my heart trembleth to think, and my hand faileth to writ. O Lord forgive, that ever anothers speaking, but much more Acting, should have occasioned my Thinking thereof.

And yet, as it all that is related were too little, for sanctuary to themselves, for further enslaving of the Countrey, and venting of insatiable revenge (curst be their anger for it is fierce, and their wrath for it is cruel) they have procured two Proclamations, dated at *Edinburgh March, 25. 1667.* making mention of great evidence of many disaffected Persons in the *Western Shires* who are ready to break out in open Rebellion, and involve the Kingdom in blood; and of just reason of suspicion that
these

these Rebels will rise in Armes against the King and his Authority, and not only make use of the Armes, Powder & Ammunition concealed or transported from Enemies, but seise upon the Armes of others, and invade the Ministers of the Gospel &c. And therefore for preventing and disabling of them to put themselves in Military posture, to make sudden marches or attempts upon other Subjects, or the standing Forces, or to joine with other persons of Pernicious and disorderly principles, &c. commanding all persons within the Shires of Lanrik, Air, Renfrew, Wigton & Stewarty of Kircudbright, who have refused or deserted publick trust, who withdraw from publick Ordinances, and keep not their Parish Churches, or do not submit to the present Government of the Church, and all who being warned did not joine to suppress the late Rebellion, unless they take the Oath of Alleageance, and subscribe the Declaration, that after the 15 day of May next, by themselves or any other for their behoof, they do not keep any horse above the value of an hundred merks; and in case of failzie, that the Sherif value and deliver such horses to the Informer without payment to be made therefor before the first of May, to deliver to their respective Sherifs all their Armes and Ammunition (allowing Gentlemen only swords) under the pain of fining each Gentleman in 2000. merks, and each other person in 500 merks, whereof the one half to the Informer, and commanding all Heritors and Parishioners to defend the persons, families, and goods of their

Ministers, from all affronts and injuries, with certification that the sufferers & not opposers of the same, shall be reputed art and part, & he proceeded against with all rigour as guilty thereof; and in case of surprisal, that they pursue, apprehend and present the committers befor the Council, otherwise to be liable to reparation of damage, &c. What new and strange Policy is there here, that the Narrative of both Proclamations, in stead of concealing in the time of declared and continued War with Forraigners, should proclaime that there are so many disaffected persons, who are ready to rise in Armes, to seise upon the Armes of others, and weaken the Forces of the Kingdom, thereby expressing the sense of their own deservings, and the tears of an evil conscience; discovering their own nakedness to enemies, and encouraging Forraigners to invade with the more confidence? Must these Shires, which, without derogation to others, do eminently flourish with men of Piety towards God and true Loyalty, and during the Kings Exile, did retain a more faithful remembrance of his Interest according to the Covenant, than many other places of the Kingdom, be of all other Shires within the same, in recompense thereof, rewarded with the Titles of disaffected persons; Rebels, men of pernicious & disloyal principles, and spoiled of their goods? Whence should these, who being spoiled of all Armes, first by the *English*, and then by the *Council* since the Kings return, be presumed to have concealed

cealed Armes! What ground is there to suggest
 unto the World, the transportation of Armes from
 Enemies? Must every man who will not throw a-
 way for nothing his Horse & Armes, which he hath
 purchased by his money, be therefore *a seditious*
and disaffected person, and accordingly proceeded
 against with all rigour? If none within these Shires
 must keep a horse exceeding the value above men-
 tioned, how impossible is it to labour much of the
 ground? How are covetous wretches, in hope of
 gaining horse without Payment, and the half
 of the Fines for concealed Armes, animated, to give
 in invidious Informations against the owners? and
 many poor well meaning people tempted to redeem
 their beasts at the rate of Perjury and breach of Co-
 venant? What an absurd thing is it, to punish men
 otherwise innocent, only for not accepting or
 deserting publick trust, whereunto they neither
 have access, nor can continue in, without formal
 and expresse Perjury? How irrational and unjust is
 it, to command (under a penalty) Parishioners
 to do that which may be impossible, yea without
 the compass of their knowledge, such as opposing,
 but much more apprehending and presenting sur-
 prizers? Wherewith, I pray you, shall these who
 must deliver up all their Armes (reserving not
 so much as a sword) defend themselves or any other
 man, against violence and surprizal? We read in
 our History of a Law, whereby for repressing of
 Theft, men were not to shut their doors in the
 night,

night, and satisfaction was ensured to the owner for
 any thing that should be stolen from him; where-
 upon a Countrey man alleaging his goods to be
 stolen, obtained payment; but being found there-
 after that himself had hid them, he was hanged
 for a reward to himself and example to others;
 what if some of these covetous and malicious

'd / for who can rational
 at they who '

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offalt for their Apostacy: O Backslidden Scotland:
remember from whence thou art fallen, Repent &
and Do thy First works, or else he will come
thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of
his place, except thou Repent.

F I N I S.

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NAPHTALI

OR

The Wrestlings of the CHURCH OF SCOTLAND FOR THE KINGDOM of CHRIST;

Contained in

A true and short Deduction thereof, from
the beginning of the Reformation of the Reli-
gion, until the Year 1667.

Together with

The last Speeches and Testimonies of some, who
have died for the Truth since the Year 1660.

Whereunto are also subjoyned

A Relation of the Sufferings and Death of
MR HEW Mc KAIL, and some Instances of
the Sufferings of Galoway and Nithisdale.

LAM. 1: 12. *Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by? Behold and see, if there
be any sorrow like unto my sorrow, which is done unto me, wherewith the
Lord hath afflicted me, in the day of his fierce anger.*

PSAL. 138: 12. *Rejoice not against me, O mine Enemy: When I fall, I shall arise;
When I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a Light unto me.*

ISA. 60: 22. *What shall one then answer the Messengers of the Nations? That
the Lord hath founded Zion, and the poor of his People shall dwell in it.*



Printed in the Year c^l. l^o. LXXX.

AD LECTOREM.

Non hic Herculeæ sunt cum sudore palestræ ;
 Nullus Olympiaco in pulvere Ludus iners :
 Pro sudore cruor Christi de Corpore manat ;
 Ardua pro ludo est lucta , rapina , neces .
 Scotica bis denis luctata Ecclesia Lustris ;
 Penè dedit victas , lassa labore , manus .
 Duros passa Patres dudum , velut ante Novercas ,
 Vi premitur ; Stygia fraude subacta gemit .
 Conseruit effraenes contra tumidasque procellas ;
 Proque Fide steterat , dum stetit ulla fides .
 Nusquam cana fides nunc est , jurataque Cæli
 Numina , mortales , vinc' la nec ulla ligant .
 Credula dum nimis est , fida hæc Ecclesia ; vanâ
 Spe lusa , & rupto Fœdere strata jacet :
 Strata tamen non tota jacet , de pulvere surgit ,
 Auricomum tollet mox supra astra caput .
 Ipsa triumphalem currum Crux sæva ministrat ;
 Sanctorum sanguis fertile semen erit .
 Ecce ! Sacerdotum turmam Regumque Coronam
 Pendentem infami de trabe , Lector , habes .
 Cerne oculo , Heroum facies & corpora cernas ,
 Verba audi , & videas pectora plena Deo ,
 Hic loquitur Princeps , magno cum Iudice , Vates ;
 Et juvenes , Vatum spes animosa senum .
 Hic Generosa cohors , Miles , Mercator , agelli
 Cultor , & Arte rudis , spirat ab ore Deum .
 Disce immortalem hinc Animam , vitamque futuram ,
 Nulla est , pro Christo , mors male grata pio .
 Pro Christi Crux , est , diademate Laureâ ; rests ,
 Fœdere pro Sancto , est vita , monile , decus .

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R E A D E R.



THE LORD in great mercy, having wonderfully and with an outstretched arm, notwithstanding all the opposition of Sathan & earthly Principalities, redeemed *Scotland* from the Power and darkness, first of *Gentilism*, and then of *Antichristianism*, by raising

of some burning and shining Lights, and other Instruments fitted for that Work; Whereby the Light of the Glorious Gospel, from a very small beginning, did increase more & more, until at length, shining with brightness & heat, as the Sun in his strength, it filled the Land with knowledge, in much that the name thereof became *Jehovah Shammah*, *The Lord is there*: And having built to Himself a house upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, not only sufficiently instructed with righteous Laws & Judgments for Doctrine & Worship; But also provided with Ordinary Officers necessary in the Christian Church, and with a form of Church-Government, of his own Institution, distinct from, and without any prejudice unto the Civil Government of the Kingdom, Whereby the Church of *Scotland*, for Soundness of Faith, Purity of

Worship, Excellency of Government, Freedom and Power of the Gospel, beautiful Order & Unity, was not inferior to any, if not preferable to most of the Reformed Churches, and therefore was deservedly famous & esteemed amongst them: Having also, for an hundred Years, from it's first National Establishment, preserved the same from utter overthrow, notwithstanding the many various and renewed endeavours of men, by force and fraud, to reduce it unto the same Errors, Ignorance and Superstitions, wherein it self at first lay buried, and under which others groaned; And several times revived and restored it, when by it's own Impurity, Indifference and Formality it began to decline, or by the Treachery, Subtilty, or Violence of others it was oppressed thereby not only disappointing, confounding, and many times ruining the Adversaries, and comforting and strengthening the faithful; But also alwayes rebuilding **Himself** a Temple, the glory whereof did far exceed and darken the glory of the former: And having many times engaged the whole Land to Himself, by several most solemn Obligations, of voluntary Surrender and Resignation, by frequently renewed Oaths and Covenants; So that within these few Years past, there were not many persons of age, of what ever degree, and not so much as one Preaching Minister in all the Land, who not only did not make publick profession of the true Reformed Religion, but also subject themselves unto the Presbyterial Form of Church Government and Discipline, and who did not (which we desire to be noted) for that effect in their own persons swear and subscribe with the hand unto the Lord in the National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant; In so much, that as to the publick Profession of the Truth, and almost as to the number of persons, the Church of Scotland was of equal extent with the Nation, and in that respect, of all other National Churches, did most resemble the old Church of the *Jews*: The Lord,

To the Reader.

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say, having to the conviction and acknowledgement of our selves and others, done such great things for us; whereof we are glad, the present Apostacy, whereby Scotland's Bethel is come Be *haven*, and the Land that was sometimes Holiness unto the Lord is become (alas! too Edom like) the border of wickedness, and an *Aceldama*, a Tragical Theatre of blood and persecution, ought to be unto us no less matter of Sorrow, Shame and Fear, than it is Sin in it self, and Wonder and Amazement unto others. Who can hear our Covenanted and Kindest Lord, who hateth putting away, and desieth us to shew the bill of our Mothers divorcement, who groaneth under our Backslidings, being pressed therewith as a cart full of sheaves, complaining that He is broken with our whorish hearts, and therefore declaring that He will be no more our Husband, nor we His Wife, and that His heart cannot be toward us; But that He will drive us out of His house, and love us no more, and not cover the lip for Shame? And in consequence thereof, who can behold the Fathers house, not only defiled, by turning it into an house of Marchandise & den of thieves, about the Temple cast down to the ground, and the Adversary in the midst thereof insultingly and scornfully set up their ensignes for signes of Triumph; & further, behold the blood of Saints shed like water, and their flesh given to be meat to the fowles of the heaven and beasts of the Earth, & not lament with Jeremiah? Cap. 9. 1, 2, 3. *Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the Daughter of my People. Oh that I had in the Wilderness a lodging place of wayfaring men, that I might leave my People and go from them: For they be all adulterers, an assembly of treacherous men. And they bend their tongue like their bow, they lie: But they are not valiant for the Truth upon the Earth, neither do they proceed from evil to evil, and they know not me, saith the Lord.* And this will the more appear, not only if we remember the general nature of Backsliding, which is a

very comprehensive Sin, importing less Love; Fear and Trust in the true God, and proclaiming more Inconstancy Unfaithfulness, and ingratitude towards him, than sometimes is found in very heathens towards their Idols; But also if we consider that our present Defection hath all circumstantial Aggravations in the highest degree. For it is not in things only Civil, Indifferent, or of little moment. But in things Religious, Necessary, Important, & which at least in their tendency & consequence reach to the very foundation: It is not the effect of common, humane and invincible infirmity; but most free & voluntary, yea wilful & deliberate: It is not done by stealth, or in a corner; but avowedly & openly in the sight of the Sun: It is not Private and Personal; but Representative & Authorized, by Acts & Proclamations of King, Parliament and Council. It is not smoothly & subtly, but most tyrannically carried on by military violence and cruelty: It is not of a few or inconsiderable Persons, but very Universal: The greatest part of all Ranks, and of some Ranks almost the whole, being some one way or other involved therein. It is not only of these, who were alwayes of known and professed disaffection to the Cause and Covenant of God; but also of many, who sometimes being exceeding zealous themselves, and exemplary and forcible upstirrers of others therein, are now become the chief Ringleaders thereof, and most bloody Persecuters of those who remain stedfast in the Truth: It is not in an Heathenish or Antichristian Land, or Church divided and broken with several Sects, as some others are; but even in Scotland, so clearly enlightened, for which the Lord had wrought so many wonderful works, which was under so many obligations of Oaths and Covenants to the contrary, and had been so united in the profession of the Truth: It is not from violent force. Inevitable necessity or irresistible temptation (which is neither possible, nor yet would excuse it) but when the Lord, by breaking the yoke of

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forrain Usurpation, had given King and Countrey the fairest opportunity which they ever had, to restore, confirm and advance His work; as if He had delivered us, that we might work all these Abominations: And all this for no other end, than the base flattering of the Kings humor and inclination, satiating of Prelatical Pride and Ambition, the indulging of the licentious profaniry of some Debauched and degenerated Nobles and others, who could not endure the yoke of Christ's sound doctrine and impartial discipline, And the suppression of Religion and Righteousness in the subversion of the late work of Reformation: Whereby we have charged our selves with all the blood that hath been shed upon either side, during the former wars; Have laid a stumbling block before all, who shal see or hear of it, to blaspheme Religion as a false pretence for Rebellion and Self-Interest, and to affirm that there is neither truth nor ingenuity in the Professors thereof. *Pass over the Isles of Chittim, and see if there be such a thing; hath a Nation changed their Gods, which yet are no Gods? But Scotland, Ah Scotland! hath changed her glory for that which doth not profit. Be astonished, O ye heavens at this, and be horribly afraid: And so much the rather, because few Lands did ever make Defection after this manner, but, as upon the one hand, the Lord gave them up unto more Backsliding, until they abounded more with Atheism and all manner of abominations, than some Pagan-Nations, who never heard nor made Profession of the Gospel; So upon the other hand, He alwayes pursued them with forest plagues, not only of subjugation at home, scattering and exile abroad, dividing of Kingdomes amongst themselves, and from their former Rulers, and final subversion of whole Empires, Kingdomes and Common-wealths; But also many times with the final removal of the Gospel, and utter dissolution of all visible National Covenant-relation; as might be demonstrated from Holy Scripture, and other Histories:*

ries. And indeed, if He, to whom nothing is strange or impossible (though they may seem both to us) and whose wayes and thoughts are as far above ours, as the Re-Heavens are above the Earth, do not in the Sovereignty of His Grace, recede from His ordinary method of dealing with such apostatizing People, and now when he hath seen our way do not heal us, we have, alas! too too just ground of fear, that we shall become such a proverb amongst the Nations, that the generation to come of our Children, & the stranger that cometh from a far Land, when they see the plagues of this Land, shall wonder and ask, *Wherefore hath the Lord done this unto this Land? What meaneth the heat of this great anger?* Oh! that the very first, and next following steps of Defection, together with the Causes of the Lord's wrath against the Land, were remembred and acknowledged, and that all who have had any accession to the kindling of this flame (and who can wholly Justify himself? If any would, be sure, his own mouth should condemn him) would draw their water and pour it out before the Lord, for quenching thereof, and that the first refilers from our Nation, their Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to duties, would glorify God by Confession, that he might turn from the fierceness of his Anger; But alas! He hath at once poured out upon us the Spirit of *Whoredome* and of a deep *sleep*! and hath both made us to *erre* from His way, and *hard'ned* our hearts from his fear. And as we should look behind us to the Rise, so before us to the Result of these things; for though every runner may read the *Primum mobile* of this course, the great axletree and wheels upon which all moveth, and who are the furious drivers and slavish drawers thereof, and we have both seen the several degrees of Motion & advancement and smarted the sad effects of the same, yet I am afraid that there is now another spirit in Persons & Tendency in affairs than some men apprehend. Whether there be a sufficient

sufficient ground in the Holy Scriptures to think with some,
 and that before the last fall of the Roman Antichrist, the Popish
 the Religion shall once more overshadow the Christian World,
 it is not proper here to enquire; But considering the great
 affinity betwixt *Papacy* and *Prelacy*, and the already au-
 thorized & practized Conformity of the one to the other,
 as not only in Government & Discipline, whereby they have,
 for the most part, the same Ecclesiastical Courts and Offi-
 ces; But also in Worship, whereby they have the same
 Liturgy, for substance of Epistles, Gospels, Collects and
 Letany; The same Ceremonies of Rising, Standing to the
 East, Bowing, Kneeling, Crossing, &c. the same supersti-
 tious & fool-like Vestments; the same observation of ma-
 ny dayes, the same adorning of Churches & Chappels, with
 the Altars, Books, Candles, Candlesticks, Basins, Images,
 and Crucifixes on windows, and the same Jesuitical sign
 upon their pulpit cloth; And also in several points of Do-
 ctrine, preached, licensed and printed, with many other
 things tedious to be enumerated: Considering also the
 constitution of Kingdoms, which by Ignorance, A-
 theisme, disputing and oppugning of the Authority of the
 Holy Scriptures, Error, Superstition, Profaneness, Indiffe-
 rence, Formality and Hypocrisy in many, are much more
 than formerly disposed to embrace whatsoever shall be au-
 thorized or indulged: And considering the native tenden-
 cy of the present Course of Backsliding, which leadeth unto
 the great Whore, the mother of all these abominations,
 nothing but gross, wilfull or judicial Ignorance, and e-
 strangement from affairs, can deny that there is too just
 ground of fear, that ere long (if the Lord do not prevent
 it) *Brittain* may be again precipitated into the old gulf of
 Antichristianism. And so much the rather, because it is
 universally observed & notourly known, that the number
 of professed Papists, hath increased more within these six
 Years, than it had for near sixty before; the conviction
 whereof made some of the Prelates themselves say some
 Years

Years hence, that since the Year 1660. there were more thousands of avowed Papists in *Scotland* (compute the what may and must be in *England* and *Ireland*) than before that Year there were hundreds. Whence this is, & whether there be any positive Resolution to reintroduce Popery in these Lands, I do not affirm, but remit it to the consideration of the impartial Reader who understandeth the times, & to Time it self, a great searcher & discoverer of secrets, to declare the genuine meaning & tendency of these things, That the King should publish in print, that the Papists had been faithful Subjects to him and his Father whilst others under pretence of Religion had involved the Kingdoms in blood; Was that bloody Massacre in *Ireland*, whereof they were the known & acknowledged Actors, though perhaps not the only Authors, such Faithful service? That the execution of penal Statutes against Papists should be superseded, whilst severe penal Statutes are daily enacted and executed against Protestants, really, though not under that name and notion That so many known and open Idolatrous Masses should be connived at and tolerated, whilst both publick and private meetings of Protestants for pure Worship are prohibited by Law, and violently interrupted: That so many known professed Papists, Priests and Jesuites, who do not publickly countenance the Prelatical Worship are permitted to live peaceably and enjoy all their Liberties, whilst non complying Protestants, for simple Nonconformity to Prelacy, are imprisoned, fined, confined, scourged, stigmatized, and many otherwayes oppressed & persecuted, in their Estates, Consciences & Names That so many Papists especially in *England* should enjoy and be daily advanced to the greatest places of public Power and Trust, not only as members of Parliament Council, and Court, but as State Officers, Lieutenants Sheriffs, Justices of Counties, and Officers in Army whilst stedfast Protestants, for simple non-perjuring, are

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II

some of them not so much as permitted to sit in Parliament, or any other Judicatory; others of them discouraged, disgraced, disarmed, imprisoned and proscribed, and all of them who will not forswear, declared incapable of publick Power or Trust in Church or Commonwealth: That a house for Fathers or Friars is provided; whilst many faithful Ministers are removed and chased from place to place, without any certain habitation: That there should be such universal Report, and so much Presumption of a Popish hand in burning of *London*, which, for number and strength of Protestant Inhabitants, was the most considerable City in the World, and bulwark against the Romish Religion and designs, and yet, as if men were afraid to try the truth in that matter, so little satisfying and effectual course taken, to try and punish the Authors and Actors, and to repress their many other insolent misdemeanors; whilst many thousands of innocent Protestants, who never burnt either house or City, for no other alleaged crime but their peaceable forbearance to bow to the Idol which the King hath set up, are thrown into a furnace of fiery Trial, seven times more heated than ever was known in the Christian World for such a Cause, all things being considered.

It may seem strange to the Nations about, and to the Generations following, that the Church of *Scotland* which had been so faithful and chaste, should have suffered herself to be thus prostituted, and that (if she would not otherways, after the manner of her Fathers, contend for the Faith which she had received) she did not cry to all the World by Declarations and Protestations (as the Maid under the Law) that she was forced; And that of all the sons which she had brought forth, there were so few, either to take her by the hand, and plead openly for her, or to plead with her, that she would put away her whoredoms. This indeed is, and ought to be for a lamentation: But let none therefore conclude (as

some of the profane and perfidious Prelates, measuring others after their own baseness & treachery, had the impudence at first to misrepresent to the Rulers) that all were, or are consentient unto this horrid Apostacy; for even at the beginning thereof, if Synods (which were then resolving to bear publick Witness for the then established Government of the Church, and against the begun Defection, and further progress thereof by the Reintroduction of Prelacy, which was then designed) had not been, some of them, by Proclamation prohibited to convene, and others of them violently interrupted and raised by Nobles, who, by Order of Parliament, were present for that effect; And if some of her Watchmen (who were neither professedly driving on, nor secretly breathing after Prelacy and Prelatical promotion) had not for Reasons best known to themselves, too much courted and flattered the Powers by their own silence, and withdrawing of their necessary and required concurrence in a publick joint Testimony, there wanted not Faithfulness, Zeal, Courage, Resolutions and some Endeavours in others to have emitted such Declarations as probably might have crushed the bold attempt of the Prelates in it's infancy, & thereby have prevented much Sin and Suffering which hath ensued thereupon, & certainly would have witnessed to all the World, that the Church without and against her consent was treacherously betrayed & violently forced. Neither hath the Truth all along from that time till this, wanted many testimonies, though none of them were so National, Universal, Authoritative & Solemn as they should have been; And a few of them (perhaps) so explicate, full, plain and bold, as the weight of the matter and other circumstances required: Yea, the continued fears of the Adversaries expressed in the Narratives of several of their own Acts and Proclamations, and their levying of Military Force, for upholding of them and their Cause; The Non-

compliance of many thousands, their secret and open complaints and moans because of it, & their daily prayers to God against it, bear witness against this present Course. Besides, it is very observable, that some, who had been chief Authors & Active Promoters thereof and Complyers with the same, and others, who had been intimate familiars and favourers of Prelats and their Vice Curats, in Sicknes and at Death did so much abhorre their way and loath their Persons, that they would not admit their presence, but called for Non-conforming Ministers to speak to them and pray for them; Yea some Gentlemen upon Death bed, did with much sorrow bemoan their own concurrence, and particularly their taking of the Declaration against the Covenant, & seriously warned and exhorted their old Familiars & companions in that guilt to repent thereof, wishing they were able to go and make publick profession of their own Repentance; and others (whilst some friends offered to bring Prelatical men unto them) professed, that though they had sported with such men in health, yet they durst not do so at Death; and some Ministers who had conformed, in remorse thereof, forsook that way, & thereafter died with convincing evidence of Repentance therefore, and declaration against the same: And indeed, as there was never any Course in the Land, which so visibly had the Voluntary and Active Concurrence of all and Only the Wicked and Prophane; so there was never a more Universal concurrence and Wrestling together by prayer, of all the Godly without Exception, against any Party & Cause, than now is against this; for there needs no more to make any man (though formerly their friend and familiar) to hate their way and detest themselves, but to convince him of his own Sin, make him thorowly apprehensive of death and Judgment. and become a sincere seeker of God, and Student of holiness in his own Person. And further the late Rising in Armes, is an Argument

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In the Parish of *Borg*, in a Gentlemans house, the souldiours did quarter for 15 weeks, till they consumed the whole provision of the Family, which was well furnished with meal and malt and other necessaries; they also destroyed the whole plenishing (except one table which they left in case they came again) even to the pulling down of the Partition-wall of the main dwelling house, and pulling down of an Office-house without the gate: All this destruction they committed by giving and selling one part within the Countrey, and sending another part to *Glasgow*, and breaking and burning the rest of it, of purpose that it might be useles for the owner, who was forced to flee before, and betake himself to wandering with his brother and their families. And after they had committed all this vastation, they also fell upon their Tennants, and forced them to bring in malt, sheep, fowls, and other things (for their maintenance) that they pleased to call for, and so ruined them also; And two of his Tennants they forced to scatter their families, having threatened to burn their houses, besides all the destruction they had done to their Matter and them before.

In the Parish of *Irongray*, a poor Tennant having bargained with the Souldiours, to redeem his goods for 36 pounds, when he came to *Dumfries*, they would hardly take 50 pounds, so that he was forced to borrow the *over-plus*, and being returned home to shear his corns, & expecting no more trouble from them, they came back upon him, and took away his beasts and all, even to the leading away his hay. The like was practised upon another in the same Parish.

And further, some Maintenance imposed in the year 1648, being alleaged unpayed by severall Gentlemen and others within the Sherifdom of *Nithisdale*, letters of horning were raised by the Collectors; which letters and executions thereof were suspended, because the

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same was already payed, and yet notwithstanding, Troopers were sent to Cels and Quarter upon the said persons, till they should make payment, although the suspension was not discussed; and several of them, to be relieved of the heavy burthen of the Cels and quartering, were constrained to make payment thereof, and that by and attour the Cels for the same, which was far above the said maintenance, in so much that a Gentleman, who at first might have payed for 30 pounds, the Party that went to Cels upon him would not agree to remove for less than 200 merks, Yea after an order was procured from the *Commissioner*, for removing the Cels for the said Maintenance, a party of 8 or 9 horsemen, with their boyes and horses, were sent once again to quarter upon some Gentlemen, untill they were forced to make a new address to the *Commissioner* for removal thereof.

By all which, that Countrey was so exhausted of money, that neither poor nor rich could get it to satisfy these mens demands, and the poor people were forced to sell their beasts in the Markets below their worth; in so much that they were forced to sell a Cow for two Nobles or two Crowns, the souldiours in the mean time standing by to receive the same, although the poor men had destitute families at home: Yea many families whose summs are not here reckoned, in probability are totally ruined, and many others scattered, and particularly in *Lochruston* were above 16 families broken, in *Irongray* the most part of the families are broken, beside several that are already put from house-keeping, the souldiours having taken away, both there and elsewhere, that which the People should have lived upon; yea several Gentlemen, formerly in good condition, were put from house-keeping, and forced to wander, and be beholden to others for 2 nights lodging, the souldiers having violently possessed themselves of their barns, cattel and other goods.

Neither

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Neither is this all, the wickedness, prophanity and blasphemies of the souldiours; are rather to be abhorred and suppressed than thought or spoken of, if the notoriety thereof were not universal in these bounds.

In the Parish of *Carlsphairn*, in an Inn at the Bridge of *Deugh*; on the Sabbathday, some of them being quartered there, they most prophanely and atheistically mocked at all preaching of the Gospel, saying, *let us go preach*, and then read their text out of the *Cherry and the Slae* (an old Scotch Amorous Poem) counterfeiting a form of divine worship, and as it is informed did sing an other part of the same Poem in stead of the Psalms, and used all other mocking modes, as if they had been serious at Gods worship.

In the Parish of *Irongray*, an honest man retiring himself to the fields for secret prayer (having no liberty at home) was followed by the Souldiours, who drew swords upon him threatening to kill him, if they heard him praying any more, saying, Sir, *we have heard you many times howling, if we hear you again &c.*

Another time in that same Parish, the Master of the house was exhorting them to leave off their swearing & prophanity, shewing them the danger and hazard they were in of the condemnation of Hell, some of the souldiours mocking at hell most blasphemously answered, *By my soul ere I go to hell, it shall cost God 24 hours pains ere he get me there.*

In the Town of *Kircudbright*, when one Captain *Finn* an horseman died, one of his Camerads coming to see him, and finding him dead, came near and rudely gripping the dead man, used this horrid expression, *what devil art thou dead man?* And did not tell me before that I might have sent a letter to hell with thee (to such a camerade of his as he named, who had died lately before) to take up my winter quarters.

In the same Town also, as is informed, some of them

conveening at the Cross, and drinking there healths, one of them personating. . . (Who dare expresse whom) used this blasphemous expression to his Camerads, *Ye are my Angels*, and *I drink to you all*. But we abhorre to mention any more of this sort: only this is certain, that Atheism and Blasphemy is become so ordinary with them, that some of themselves are forced to regrate it.

In the Parish of *Carphairn*, some of the foot souldiours did so barbarously and cruelly struggle with a man's wife so have forced her till she was rescued out of their hands by (some women) that she for fear parted with child, and kept her bed half a year, being neer unto death, and little hope of recovery.

Also in a Gentleman's house in the same Parish, where they were quartered, they cruelly beat some of the servants to the effusion of their blood, for all the good service they had done them.

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BY these things, which have been done in *Galloway* and *Nithisdale*, as the Reader may compute, what vast sufferings and horrid combinations must be in the whole Land, many places whereof are so less disaffected to Prelacy, when there are so many and gross, in so little bounds and so short time; so he may perceive, what provocation that poor oppressed people had to endeavour their own preservation, and to take hold of any opportunity for vindicating their religious and civil Interests: and what reasons others, either in the same condition with them, or upon the common

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ground

ground of Non-conformity, being threatened and justly fearing to be shortly reduced thereunto, had, according to their obligation in the Covenant, for mutual defence and assistance in the Covenant, for mutual defence and assistance in the common cause of Religion and Liberty, to joyn with them for their help. Neither should have adventured to insert these instances if (beside the diligent care that was used in collecting them, making them credible; the notoriety thereof, whereby they were unquestioned in that part of the Countrey; and many such like things (whereunto all that is mentioned, is but like a preface) committed since Novemb. 1666 especially in the Western parts, rendering them probable, they were not the native product of this Prelatical course, betwixt which and the there is such connexion, as is betwixt the nature cause and the effect, and if the committers thereof had not had command, example and encouragement for many of them from the Prelats, who they resemble as much as face answereth to face water. It is true the Prelats should no more bear the blame, then Sathan (who restraineth none but tempteth to all) should be charged with all the sin of man, and they were and are first and chief in transgression, who were their Authors and are the upholders and abettors, and in retaliation of the flattery of the Powers and connivance at prophane-ness in all, and in subserviency to their interest

and designe, have perpetrated and permitted so
 ere much wickedness and oppression; Yea the Peoples
 the walking willingly after the commandement, will
 e never Excuse those, who by Law, Force and
 and Example make Israel to Sin: yet it is above con-
 , contradiction, that Prelacy is the chief though not the
 old only Interest, in subserviency to which all these
 side things are done; and the Prelats themselves are a
 g conjunction if not the Principal cause thereof. These
 here men having put off their former vizards, no man
 the needeth further to unmask them. Let these who
 like employed and maintained *Sharp* to agent their
 s because, and others who promoted him to the Pre-
 66 lacy, declare their own Experience, of his con-
 the tinued series of ungrate deceiving and undermin-
 Et ing of them and their Interests, under Trust and
 the professions to the contrary, as all men know that
 atur he hath Impiously and Perfidiously betrayed the
 her Church and Cause of God: if they will not, Let
 rag his own many letters written unto them, be pro-
 who duced, as in reason and for Vindication they
 ace should, and they will evince him to be the Archest
 ear Traitor that ever *Scotland* bred: And how can
 e be otherwise be? will he who is false to God, be
 he true to any man? If that man escape some stupen-
 in dious and disgracefull remark by the hand of God
 e the Man, I will not say, that Others need neither
 f the fear the One nor regard the other, but sure I am; that
 pha many more Experienced in the observation of
 inter divine Providence, and foreseeing than I am, are

much mistaken. Let the City of *Glasgow*, and persons of all Qualities, especially in that countrey-side, ingenuously say, whether that fiery Zealot for the height of *English* Hierarchie and Ceremonies, and otherwise insignificant man, *Master Burnet* Prelate there, doth not, in just recompence of too many their enslaving their own light and conscience, in flattery of him, and complying with that course, most insolently domineer over them as his slaves, with as much Pride, Ambition, and Contempt, as the most absolute Prince doth over his vassals. Let these of the Synod of *Glasgow* remember, with what deep dissimulation *Mr Hamilton* Prelate of *Galloway*, did by Exprets suffrage declare, before the last Synod there, against the same Prelacy, which at that same instant of time, he was clandestinely corresponding with the Rulers to establish. This man of all others, hath been the chief Cause of all the Oppression and persecution in that countrey, and thereby the Occasion of the late rising in Armes, and blood that hath followed thereupon. One instance of *Mr Honeyman* Prelate of *Orkney* I cannot omit, that in the year 1661, when *Mr Sharp* had discovered himself, walking in his own garden he said to a famous person who can bear witness thereof, (Just as *Balaam* spake truth whether he would or not) That *Mr Sharp* was as false as *Indas*, and I would gladly know, to whom the *Casnist*, who since hath embraced a Bishop

rick, will Compare himself for falshood, except to him who entered into *Iudas* with the sop. I need tell no man who knoweth the Persons, of the brutish Sensuality of *Mr Wallace P.* of the *Isles*, who studieth more the filling of his belly than he was ever fit for feeding of a flock; nor of the hatred of Godliness & good men in *Mr Guthrey P.* of *Dunkel* who while he was Minister at *Sterlin*, was an old persecuter of both; nor the scandalous drinking of *Mr Straughan P.* of *Brechen*, let those who visite him in his own house, declare how liberally he useth to entertain them with Wine there, upon their own Expence. It is true indeed that *Mr Lighten* prelate of *Dumblan*, under a Jesuitical-like vizard of Pretended Holiness, humility and crucifixion to the world, hath studied to seem to creep upon the ground, but alwayes up the hill, toward promotion and places of more ease, honour and Wealth; and as there is none of them all hath with a Kiss so betrayed the Cause, and smitten Religion under the fifth rib, and hath been such an offence to the godly, so there is none who by his way, practice and Expressions, giveth greater suspicion of a popish affection, inclination and design. If these men had not put off their own vaile, no pencil of the most skilled Artist could have drawn them to the life but now by shewing of themselves, they have saved others a labour, or at least made it more easy. And therefore I shall rake no more into this unpleasant dung-hil of the vilest

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vices, which they and their Brethren in Iniquity (whom not naming here doth not Except from their part of the charge of Ambition, Pride, Sensuality, Idleness, Covetousness, Oppression, Persecution, Dissimulation, Perjury Treachery, and Hatred of Godliness and Good men), have heaped together in their own Persons, and transfused to others over all the Land. O the immense long suffering and unsearchable Wisdom of God! who, hearing the cry of these things, stirreth not the Zeal of all to Execute his just Judgment upon these men; but it may be, that he is ripening and reserving them for a more God-like stroke: than any would be acknowledged to be, wherein man were Instrumental. Neither are their Mercenaries, whom they hire as Postillions to ride upon the fore-house of all their Wickedness, less skilled, but more forward to that way than their drivers. It were as far above the faith of any, who have not heard and seen, to believe, and might render any pen suspected of the want of truth or tenderness, to write thereof a Hundredth part, as it is easy to instance incredibly much, but endless to relate all that is true of their Ignorance, Lightness and Prophaneess of these men. When I have told, that several lying in knowen and acknowledged fornication, without removal of the scandal, have been admitted to the Ministry by the *Prelats* who knew it and violently obtruded by them and the Patrons upon the offended people. That some of them after Admission, have been vile

ity deprehended lying with women by the way-
 om side ; that Others have been found guilty of
 ua. Actuall fornication , and of unanswerable pre-
 cu. sumptions of Adultery with other mens wives ;
 red and that drunkenness is both open and frequent
 her amongst many of them , I may well awake the
 ver wonder, the blush and horror of the Reader ; but
 and I have only begun to shew a part (and indeed a
 the very small part) of these mens wayes. A Prophet he
 l to may be by way of prognostication but let the world
 ut it Judge of what manner Preacher he must be , who ,
 rem offending that the people did not come to hear
 ac him, did before the Congregation Imprecate thus
 en against himself , *God nor I be hanged but I shall*
 hey *make you all come.* Another refused to pay the
 f all price of a horse before he pleased (which he used
 ard to boast privately would be at Doomsday) because
 ove the seller , at the making of the bargan , in Civility
 said , *Pay me when ye please ;* and thereupon , to
 d the scorn and derision of all , sustained an action
 th of Law some dayes before a Civill Court. Who
 bl will commerce with such horse-koopers ? but
 th much less who can acknowledge such men for
 nel Ministers ? These men, being themselves general-
 low way without substance and forme of Religion , are
 va such malicious persecuters of both in Others , that
 st I could never hear of one soul turned from Sa-
 de than to God by their labours (whereof indeed there
 ple are many prophane seals) so they are become
 bee vile in the eyes of all , that are truly godly, or but

morally civil; In so much that this is the only advantage, (and indeed it is an advantage, for if they were more smooth and sober, they might be more insnaring) that they do not wear a rough garment to deceive; and though I cannot say, that their out side is as unclean as their inner-side, yet it is saith as such in every mans heart, that *the fear of God is not before their eyes*. These are the pleasant birds, that are hatched and cherished under the warm wings of Prelacy, of whom though no man can speak the half of the truth to a stranger, without exposing himself to the Censure of partiality, Passion, or being a Reproacher; yet the Universal & incontroverted Notoriety of these things, in places where they reside or converse will absolve the Relater before all men who know them. It is true, we do not charge every individual with every particular, yet because they are generally true of Many, and being notourly known and sometimes represented are not remedied, they are chargeable upon the Course; which being Sinful it self, the Authors and Abettors thereof are participant of the guilt, and liable to the punishment. And indeed the Lord hath already begun his controversy with some of them, not only by pouring shame and contempt upon them (particularly upon Traiterous Sharp) and drying up the Right eye, and blasting the gifts which several seemed to have (whether by their own negligence, which every man observeth, or Immediat judgment, or both, I do not deter

determine, but also by visible cursing of their substance, divetse of them being necessitated through poverty to sell their tithes at half worth, long before they are payable, and others of them to remove leaving more debt behind, than they are able to discharge. Neither have these men thus prophaned the sanctuary only, and by the sins of the Sons of *Ely* made all men to abhorre the offering of the Lord; but from them are issued forth, such overflowing streames of wickedness over all the Land, that, besids all that is mentioned, there are other inconceivable and inexpressible Atheistical abominations said to be committed by men, which, as it is a Wonder the Devil himself should dare to act, so for fear of the great and dreadful God, & of offending the ears of others, my heart trembleth to think, and my hand faileth to writ. O Lord forgive, that ever anothers speaking, but much more Acting, should have occasioned my Thinking thereof.

And yet, as if all that is related were too little, for sanctuary to themselves, for further inflaving of the Countrey, and venting of insatiable revenge (cursed be their anger for it is fierce, and their wrath for it is cruel) they have procured two Proclamations, dated at *Edinburgh March, 25. 1667.* making mention of *great evidence of many disaffected Persons in the Western Shires: who are ready to break out in open Rebellion, and involve the Kingdom in blood; and of just reason of suspicion that these*

these Rebels will rise in Armes against the King and his Authority, and not only make use of the Armes, Powder & Ammunition concealed or transported from Enemies, but seise upon the Armes of others, and invade the Ministers of the Gospel &c: And therefore for preventing and disabling of them to put themselves in Military posture, to make sudden marches or attempts upon other Subjects, or the standing Forces, or to joine with other persons of Pernicious and disloyal principles. &c. commanding all persons within the Shires of Lanrik, Air, Renfrew, Wigton & Stewarty of Kircudbright, who have refused or deserted publick trust, who withdraw from publick Ordinances, and keep not their Parish Churches, or do not submit to the present Government of the Church, and all who being warned did not joine to suppress the late Rebellion, unless they take the Oath of Allegiance, and subscribe the Declaration, that after the 15 day of May next, by themselves or any other for their behoof, they do not keep any horse above the value of an hundred merks; and in case of failzie, that the Sherif value and deliver such horses to the Informer without payment to be made therefore; before the first of May, to deliver to their respective Sherifs all their Armes and Ammunition (allowing Gentlemen only swords) under the pain of fining each Gentleman in 2000. merks, and each other person in 500 merks, whereof the one half to the Informer; and commanding all Heritors and Parishioners to defend the persons, families, and goods of their

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Ministers, from all affronts and injuries, with certification that the sufferers & not opposers of the same, shall be reputed art and part, & he proceeded against with all rigour as guilty thereof; and in case of surprisal, that they pursue, apprehend and present the committers before the Council, otherwise to be liable to reparation of damage, &c. What new and strange Policy is there here, that the Narrative of both Proclamations, in stead of concealing in the time of declared and continued War with Forrainers, should proclaime that there are so many disaffected persons, who are ready to rise in Armes, to seise upon the Armes of others, and weaken the Forces of the Kingdom, thereby expressing the sense of their own deservings, and the tears of an evil conscience, discovering their own nakedness to enemies, and encouraging Forrainers to invade with the more confidence? Must these Shires, which, without derogation to others, do eminently flourish with men of Piety towards God and true Loyalty, and during the Kings Exile, did retain a more faithful remembrance of his Interest according to the Covenant, than many other places of the Kingdom, be of all other Shires within the same, in recompense thereof, rewarded with the Titles of *disaffected persons, Rebels, men of pernicious & disloyal principles*, and spoiled of their goods? Whence should these, who being spoiled of all Armes, first by the *English*, and then by the *Council* since the Kings return, be presumed to have concealed

cealed Armes! What ground is there to suggest
 unto the World, the transportation of Armes from
 Enemies? Must every man who will not throw a-
 way for nothing his Horle & Armes, which he hath
 purchased by his money, be therefore a *seditious*
and disaffected person, and accordingly proceeded
 against with all rigour? If none within these Shires
 must keep a horse exceeding the value above men-
 tioned, how impossible is it to labour much of the
 ground? How are covetous wretches, in hope of
 gaining horse without Payment, and the half
 of the Fines for concealed Armes, animated, to give
 in invidious Informations against the owners? and
 many poor well meaning people tempted to redeem
 their beasts at the rate of Perjury and breach of Co-
 venant? What an absurd thing is it, to punish men
 otherwise innocent, only for not accepting or
 deserting publick trust, whereunto they neither
 have access, nor can continue in, without formal
 and expresse Perjury? How irrational and unjust is
 it, to command (under a penalty) Parishioners
 to do that which may be impossible, yea without
 the compass of their knowledge, such as opposing,
 but much more apprehending and presenting sur-
 prizers? Wherewith, I pray you, shall these who
 must deliver up all their Armes (reserving not
 so much as a sword) defend themselves or any other
 man, against violence and surprizal? We read in
 our History of a Law, whereby for repressing of
 Theft, men were not to shut their doors in the
 night,

night, and satisfaction was ensured to the owner for any thing that should be stolln from him; where-upon a Countrey man alleaging his goods to be stolln, obtained payment; but being found there-after that himself had hid them, he was hanged for a reward to himself and example to others; Now what if some of these covetous and malicious Men should (for who can rationally promise and secure, but that they who have done worse, may also) thus abstract or cause abstract their own goods? What if the Lord should immediatly smite them for offering strange fire, or thieves and robbers should fall upon them? or evil Spirits in humane Shape, should haunt or hurt them, must Innocent people upon their invidious and false alleagance be therefore punished? As if the Parishioners of *Carphairn* should pay for *Mekinneys* silver plate, which his own servant stole from him.

Ah, *Scotland*, which the Lord planted a noble vine, wholly a right seed! how art thou turned into a degenerate plant of a Strange Vine? Where is now the Spirit of the Fathers, that (as if thy inhabitants were neither Christians, Men nor Patriots) Religion, the Land, Ourselves, and the Posterity, in Bodies, Consciences, and Estates should be thus emancipated, to the Interest, Lust and Designe of 14. Prelats and their Hirelings, whom the Lord sparing is a greater wonder, than if he should convert them into Pillars of

of salt for their Apostacy: O Backslidden Scotland!
*remember from whence thou art fallen, Repent &
 and Do thy First works, or else he will come unto
 thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of
 his place, except thou Repent.*

F I N I S.



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